THE STRANGE CASE OF MR. MOSLEY *by H. G. Wells*

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TEHERAN AND THE FUTURE

Questions and answers on Earl Browder's report.

The direction of Communist policy.

FDR's PROGRAM FOR '44

by The Editors

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FACT AND FICTION ABOUT ROCKETS

by Joseph Reed

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from the desk of WM. E. BROWDER

to Joseph North ***date*** January 14th, 1944

Dear Joe:

This month, as both of us so well know, marks exactly ten years since the weekly NEW MASSES was founded. That first issue was a real tough one to produce, what with the passing of the old monthly, for lack of funds, and the starting of a weekly, which was to need far greater aid. You as an editor, and I as business manager of that first issue dated January 2nd, 1934, certainly needed the help we got from such traditional friends of the magazine as Bill Gropper, Mike Gold, Herman Michelson and Art Young.

And now, although no longer actually on the staff of the NEW MASSES, I must tell you what a fine job you and your associates have been doing. The issues, week after week, are certainly up to, and even above, the high standards set when the weekly was started. And your editorial work this past year has been truly exceptional, the proof of this statement lying in the substantial increase in your circulation in 1943. I carefully looked over and studied your "Annual Report To The Stockholders" as run in your January 11th issue, and have talked at some length with your present business manager, and in my opinion the condition of NEW MASSES not only never has been better - it is far better than I for one ever thought possible. After all, you have reduced your deficit by some $12,000 in the very year when one might expect a sharp rise in NM's losses. What with your editorial standards high, your circulation rising, and your deficit cut - 1944 should be a real banner year for NEW MASSES.

I wanted to drop you this note to congratulate you on the magazine's achievements these past ten years, and especially this last year. I hope that you will see that your readers fully appreciate what NEW MASSES has done in the past, and can do in 1944 and the next decade IF the readers do their part.

Best regards,

Bill Browder

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To: The Editors, NEW MASSES,
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NEW MASSES

VOL. L JANUARY 25, 1944 No. 4

TEHERAN AND THE FUTURE

Questions and answers on Earl Browder's report. The direction of Communist policy.

The questions below are those put to us by several of our readers after Earl Browder's speech to the National Committee of the Communist Party. They are not by any means all the questions we are receiving and we hope to answer the remainder in forthcoming issues. We invite readers to continue sending questions as well as their opinion of Mr. Browder's historic address. In answering these questions we, of course, do not profess to speak either for Mr. Browder or the Communist Party. His report speaks for itself and provides the best answers to all questions.

In our opinion Mr. Browder's speech published in the "Worker" of January 16 as well as his closing remarks ("Daily Worker," January 13) deserve the most detailed and careful study on the part of all those who have the country's future at heart and desire to play a useful role in solving the problems ahead. The country's press has begun to comment on these speeches and while some of these comments miss the point of Mr. Browder's analysis, many of them reveal a highly intelligent attempt to understand the policies and ideas he proposes. We shall also comment on these comments in future issues.—The Editors.

QUESTION: ***Why did Teheran mark a turning point in world relations and will the three leading powers of the coalition return to the ways of the past after Hitler's defeat?***

No BRIEF answer such as the one that follows can do full justice to the question. For involved in any adequate reply must be a knowledge and understanding of the dynamics of international relations from the close of the last war to the present. And if one surveys those tragic decades with any degree of perception he is forced to conclude that the central problem of the past quarter century was how to achieve a global union of the forces of peace and progress to restrain those who would toss the world into the throes of another conflict; and if that conflict took place, how to weld a coalition of democratic powers to assure their enemies' defeat. The former failed and its failure was culminated at Munich. *Munich represented the undeniable ascendancy of every predatory and barbarous group in Europe and Asia.* It was the consequences of a policy which kept London and Washington from partnership with their natural and powerful ally, the Soviet Union.

But if the former failed the latter eventually succeeded. From the moment the USSR was invaded the whole picture changed fundamentally. In the cauldron of war itself was compounded a grand alliance heretofore unachievable at the Geneva conference tables. With the coalescence of the United States, Great Britain, and the Soviet Union a preponderance of military and industrial might took place which, when properly coordinated on the field of battle, no other power or group of powers could vanquish. *For the first time since 1918 the new era that began in June of 1941 saw the ascendancy of the forces of progress and democracy and the decline of the fascist axis.*

And this is the key that opens wide the gates to an understanding of the present and the future. But for two years there was grave doubt whether the coalition would endure or disintegrate, or, in other words, whether the ascendancy of progress would be translated into genuine policy. Teheran, following the Moscow Conference, was the guarantee that the coalition would survive and grow. It became the symbol of the basic shift in world relations. Teheran also meant that the freedom and independence of nations—for which this war is being fought—was no longer in doubt. That by itself is such a huge and revolutionary achievement that if Teheran had accomplished nothing more it would go down in history as an unprecedented event.

From another aspect, Teheran introduced the most satisfying prospect of a bright and rich future. Under the aegis of Roosevelt, Stalin, and Churchill a practical policy was formulated to "banish the scourge and terror of war for many generations" and to create an enduring peace. Teheran signifies that at last capitalism and socialism are determined to live side by side with the proponents of neither system fearful of the other. And when it is remembered that it was this haunting fear of each other that created hostilities from the moment

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oSR was born, then the new era of agreement by conciliation and compromise ushered in at Teheran towers above any other within history.

Will the three powers revert to old ways after they have defeated Hitler? No matter what happens in the future there can never again be a retrogression to the past. The egg has been boiled hard, so to speak, and it cannot be unboiled. Like many chemical processes it is irreversible. For even if the fullest promises of Teheran were not realized, the majority of men and women throughout the world would not countenance the scrapping of that agreement. For what is the alternative to Teheran? It is an unstable and gloomy future inevitably leading both to civil and international war. For those in our own country who have been denigrating the Teheran accord, their successful persistence in such adventures would be rewarded with a set of explosive situations which would blow them sky high. For it is only through the complete realization of Teheran that economic and political contradictions can be minimized, harnessed, and kept within human control. It will not be easy to restrain the disciples of Victorian politics, but with unity and correct policy they can be properly blockaded.

QUESTION: ***What assurance is there that when the war is over, the capitalists will support national unity to realize the perspectives of Teheran?***

LET US put this question in proper balance. The issue is not whether all the capitalists will support national unity, but whether decisive and policy-forming capitalist groups will. There can be no absolute guarantee of that. All that can be projected is an estimate of the possibilities. At present these groups are supporting the war because they have a fundamental stake in its victorious outcome. Have these big business groups an equally fundamental stake in a durable coalition peace as envisaged by the Teheran agreement? We believe they have. All big business organizations are today concerned about the problem of maintaining peacetime production at approximately the wartime level. The capitalists, like other sections of the population, dread the social consequences of a sharp drop in production and employment, which would, of course, also greatly curtail profits. It is estimated that it will be necessary to produce $135 to $150 billion of peacetime goods to keep our factories and fields working at their present pace. But in 1939, the last pre-war year, our national production was only about $69,000,000,000. In other words, after the war we will have to produce and sell twice as many goods to our own people and to foreign countries to avoid a crash.

Let us consider the foreign market. What are the prospects? The years from 1930 to 1940 witnessed a sharp decline in the export of American goods and capital as compared with the previous decade. The basic cause of this decline was the world economic crisis. But another factor was political: the ir y of world relationships resulting from the rise of Germa ism, Japanese aggression in the Far East, accentuated i ies among the western powers, and their efforts to isolate e Soviet Union.

When this war ends Europe a d Asia will be hungry as never before for American goods and American capital. But they will be able to absorb them and to help build the necessary structure of international credit only if there is the perspective of a stable and peaceful world, with the major powers cooperating to suppress any new threat of aggression and to make possible the most rapid reconstruction of the economy of all countries. In other words, the prospects of foreign trade and investment for American business are almost in direct ratio to the fulfillment of the Teheran program. A no less powerful economic incentive is the need to extend the domestic market, which will be possible only through a great increase in purchasing power. There will of course be differences of opinion as to how this is to be done. The important thing, however, is that it will require the cooperation of all classes and the government. For without internal stability, without the avoidance of explosive social conflicts the goal of $135 to $150 billion peacetime production cannot be attained.

To say this is not to say that the leading c alist groups will immediately and automatically recognize w re their own true interests lie. This program will require concessions on their part and the overcoming of prejudices. Undoubtedly there will be powerful capitalists who will bitterly oppose the Teheran perspective, just as there are capitalists today who oppose the war and work for a negotiated peace with Hitler. It is also true that some industrial and financial leaders will learn only the hard way. Yet it is likely that the necessities of the peace, like the necessities of the war, will produce a cleavage within the capitalist class and result in major big business support for the Teheran program, especially if the anti-Teheran forces are defeated in the 1944 election.

". . . as a new-born babe." News note: Lawrence Dennis pleads innocent before a US Commissioner of charges he engaged in a Nazi conspiracy.

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QUESTION: ***Isn't the effort to avert civil war and revolution after the global war is over an abandonment of Communist principles?***

THE use of force is not and never was a Communist principle. Likewise the abstention from force is not and never was a Communist principle. Communists approach the problem of force from the same standpoint that Jefferson and Lincoln approached it: the ends for which it is used. Today Communists, Democrats, Republicans, and other patriots are engaged in using force to destroy the Axis. It is force against force, but it is obvious that the force we are using has an entirely different social and moral meaning from the force Hitler and Tojo are using against us. For Americans the use of force has as its purpose the defense of their national independence, the achievements of nearly 170 years of American democracy. For the conquered countries force is the instrument of national revolution against foreign enslavement and of civil war against the native quislings.

With the defeat of the Axis a new situation will be created. There will open an era of peaceful development in which every nation will have the right and opportunity to work out its own destiny. In that situation force, civil war, so-called revolution (actually counter-revolution) can be only the kind of force that the South used against the North in our own Civil War, reactionary force designed to frustrate the perspective of Teheran and precipitate World War III.

In 1861 Marx and Engels, who had favored the use of force in 1848 to overthrow the autocratic governments of the European continent, opposed the use of force by the slaveholders against the American democratic republic. They and the American Communists of that time rose to the republic's defense. And in defending the republic they helped extend its democracy. The Communists today in all the United Nations likewise defend the independence of their countries. In China they have been the strongest opponents of civil war which would play directly into the hands of the Japanese. The Communists can be counted on to continue this course in the future and to collaborate with all other groups who stand for orderly progress in the postwar period.

QUESTION: ***What about those European states that want to go socialist after the war? Will the principle of self determination take care of that?***

THERE is nothing in the Atlantic Charter, the Moscow, or Teheran agreements to restrain any European state from determining for itself its form of government and economic system provided that such changes conform to the desires of the majority of the peoples in those states. The Teheran declaration makes possible a peaceful solution of all internal problems of the European countries without resort to civil war—a solution that heretofore had been practically impossible on the Continent for the past century. Such is Teheran's signal achievement for it establishes the concept of coalition within each country to arrive at a resolution of differences by popular discussion and universal suffrage in the spirit of the Four Freedoms.

National coalitions in the different European countries already exist. The Communists along with all other representatives of anti-fascist parties operate together. This is exemplified by the new Yugoslav provisional government under the leadership of Marshal Tito and Dr. Ivan Ribar, the French liberation movement, the Italian liberation movement, etc. Even in Spain a broad democratic camp is arising against Franco and the Falange. The first gigantic objective on the agenda of all these forces is to complete the emancipation of their countries from Hitler tyranny. That will be accomplished jointly with the Allied powers and when victory comes Europe will see a release of the imprisoned people towards democracy in a manner unprecedented in history. The energy of millions will be devoted to the work of reconstruction along the lines of establishing broadly democratic governments within a capitalist economy. But all this will be conditioned by the principles of self-determination to allow for further progress and the full flowering of all constructive elements. Here again the alternative is a disastrous one which Europe's millions, after all the blood and tears they have shed, will not countenance.

In addition to studying Browder's address, we strongly urge the reader who asks this question to read Robert Minor's article in NEW MASSES for Dec. 7, 1943. There Mr. Minor analyzes the problem at considerable length.

QUESTION: ***Does this change imply that the Communists will slacken in their traditional role as champions of Negro rights? Will it lead them to compromise on such issues as the poll-tax, on the fight against anti-Semitism, on the soldier's vote?***

COMPROMISE, yes, on any debatable issue that tends to split the nation's unity for the larger, common goals, but there can be no compromise with the stuff of fascism. The Communists took their place in the vanguard of those who understood that Hitler's discriminatory laws imperilled every aspect of democracy, of national sovereignty. For too long a time the Communists were a lone voice in the wilderness. They warned that the blight of anti-Communist laws and anti-Jewish laws in Germany would spread inevitably until every progressive category of German life was shattered—labor, the liberals, the middle-classes, all. Anti-Semitism, anti-Communism spread into anti-humanism.

Surrender, here, in America, on these basic issues is to retreat from the strongholds of democracy, is to deliver them over to the enemy, both within our borders and without. Victory in this war, Browder contends, requires "an irreconcilable struggle to purify our democracy from all these fascist concepts."

On the contrary, Communists will fight to extend the democracy within our country to its utmost limits. The issues involved require more than the concern of the minorities in question: they are the business of the country as a whole. Should these wrongs be allowed to fester, they would poison the entire stream of American life—politically, economically, morally. "On these issues," Browder said, "we are in principle intransigeant, uncompromising, irreconcilable."

A similar issue of transcendant significance is the soldiers' vote. "It would be far less damaging to our democracy," Browder says, "to postpone the elections until after the war, to which no one agrees, than to exclude the ten millions, the cream of our manhood, from any effective participation therein."

QUESTION: ***Why does this perspective require the change of the name of the Communist Party?***

THE key to this question lies in an examination of the Communist Party's role; it requires also consideration of our national political tradition. As to the role of the Communists:

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"Our postwar plan," Earl Browder said, "is national unity for the realization of the perspectives laid down in Teheran." The problem, therefore, is how to function most effectively as patriots, as Marxists, to help cement the broadest democratic, progressive coalition to fulfill Teheran. The Communists have some little experience on this score; they faced the question of national unity in the course of this war and their record affords abundant proof that they made considerable contributions toward this end. Now they project the continuation and extension of coalition in the postwar years. They ask themselves: how can we improve our work in the crucial days ahead? They recognize, as Browder stated, that they will be a minority group working in alliance with groups much larger than themselves. Can that alliance be best maintained on the present basis, or is there a possibility for improvement? The Communists believe the latter.

Not only do they believe it possible, but they believe it is necessary. The vital year of '44 is upon us. What happens at the polls will determine to a great degree whether the Teheran agreements will be effectively implemented, or whether men will come to prominent office who will move heaven and earth to shatter the perspective of peaceful cooperation for many generations to come.

Obviously, under these circumstances, all groupings that see in Teheran the fulfillment of their aspirations, dare not be satisfied with minimal effort. They must examine every facet of our national life and determine how they can best streamline their efforts. The Communists, in considering the nation's political tradition, emphasize the following conclusions: the overwhelming majority of Americans believe that the ends of democracy can best be maintained through the two-party system. That is a national custom (different from most other lands) and it is so ingrained that all other parties have, by and large, been regarded popularly as sects. And as sects they are considered groups that pursue narrow, partisan ends—objectives that are not in the mainstream of American life. Since this is a fact, the Communists re-examine their role as "party." As a matter of fact, with certain exceptions, they have not, in the interests of national unity, put forward their own exclusive candidates for some time; they have associated with other national groups in furthering the election of win-the-war candidates. The perspective is to continue and to extend this association in '44, and afterward.

For these reasons the Communists feel that a change in name is necessary to correspond to the reality of their position in American life; it is needed, too, to facilitate their association with all pro-Teheran alignments toward the most all-embracing coalition. They project this change in name for the consideration of their members and all other interested Americans; the vote on its ratification will be taken at their national convention in May. It should be noted, however, that this is not a proposal to dissolve the Communist *organization*, as some erroneously believe, but rather to enhance its practical effectiveness.

QUESTION: ***Does the policy adopted by the national committee of the Communist Party mean an abandonment of the ultimate objective of Socialism?***

CONTRARY to press reports—no. In his report to the national committee Earl Browder pointed out that "The Communist Party is the only party of socialism in this country." However, for the United States the perspective in the postwar period is not one of socialism but of reconstruction on a capitalist basis. Because the American people are not ready for drastic changes in the direction of socialism, proposals along that line would have the effect of dividing them and strengthening reaction, Mr. Browder insisted. Without abandoning their belief in socialism as the ultimate goal, American Marxists must, in order to weld together national unity in the postwar period, reaffirm "our wartime policy that we will not raise the issue of socialism in such a form and manner as to endanger or weaken that national unity."

In his concluding remarks at the national committee meeting Mr. Browder dealt with the role of Marxism as "the science of the transition to socialism" and emphasized "the tremendous value of the classics of Marxism in arming ourselves to meet and solve the new and unprecedented problems." He pointed out that "now we are setting our course to realize the possibilities inherent in the present situation of what would have been described in the past as an evolutionary development of the transition period—provided, of course, that we can successfully meet our responsibilities."

Only those who regard Marxism as a dogma and would like to impose their own dogmatic conceptions on the Communist Party can believe—if they are sincere—that the Party approach to the postwar period constitutes a renunciation of its socialist credo. The founders of Marxism never hesitated to meet new conditions with new adaptations of their dynamic science. Consider, for example, the Marxist approach to universal suffrage. In the introduction to Marx's *Class Struggles in France*, written by Engels in 1895, there is a very interesting discussion of the European experience with universal suffrage. Engels pointed out that one of the great services of the German Socialists was that "They supplied their comrades of all countries with a new weapon, and one of the sharpest, when they showed them how to use universal suffrage." In France, Spain, Switzerland and the Latin countries, he wrote, universal suffrage had fallen into disrepute because it had been used by reactionary governments to trick the people. "It was otherwise in Germany. The *Communist Manifesto* had already proclaimed the winning of universal suffrage, of democracy, as one of the first and most important tasks of the militant proletariat. . . . When Bismarck found himself compelled to introduce the franchise as the only means of interesting the mass of the people in his plans, our workers immediately took it in earnest and sent August Bebel to the first constituent Reichstag. . . . The franchise has been, in the words of the French Marxist program [written in 1880 with the personal advice and guidance of Karl Marx] *'transforme de moyen de duperie, qu'il a ete jusqu'ici, en instrument d'emancipation'*—they have transformed it from a means of deception, which it was heretofore, into an instrument of emancipation."

In later years, particularly during the first World War and its aftermath, universal suffrage once more became "a means of deception" (consider our own Tweedledum-Tweedledee experiences in the twenties). Marxists continued to advocate participating in elections, but they emphasized their limitations. With the rise of German fascism, however, threatening all democratic liberties, the significance of the ballot as an instrument of struggle against the friends and conciliators of Hitler began to grow. In the postwar period, provided the Teheran program is made reality, the ballot becomes a major instrument of peaceful, democratic development.

To those who are worried about the Marxist "purity" of the Communist Party let us quote the words of the greatest Marxist of the twentieth century, Lenin—who, incidentally, was also accused of deserting socialism when he introduced the New Economic Policy (NEP) in 1921—: "We do not regard Marxist theory as something completed and inviolable; on the contrary, we are convinced that it has only laid the cornerstone of the science which socialists *must* further advance in all directions if they wish to keep pace with life. We think that an *independent* elaboration of the Marxist theory is especially essential for Russian socialists, for this theory provides only general *guiding* principles which, *in particular*, are applied in England differently from France, in France differently from Germany, and in Germany differently from Russia."

And we may add, these guiding principles are applied in America differently from all other countries. The new Communist proposals represent such an application of Marxist principles to the particular conditions and problems of this country.

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NM SPOTLIGHT

Spangler Sparkles

THE meeting of the Republican national committee scored one signal success: the committee members managed to keep the record of Mortimer Snerd alias Harrison Spangler down to two boners. The two in question were his statement that the Republicans would win in November "with anybody the convention chooses to nominate" and his announcement that some Army officers in England had at his request made a "survey" among their men and found a majority opposed to the administration. Of course Chairman Spangler's partisans might insist that his score is really three since he liked the first egg he laid so well that he laid it twice. However that may be, Spangler's talent for talking with his foot in his mouth has made him a great favorite with the Democrats.

The GOP did the expected by choosing Chicago for the national convention and set the date for June 26. It is likely that the Democratic national committee, which meets January 22, will also decide on Chicago in order to ease the transportation problem. The Republican meeting was chiefly significant as offering an opportunity for preliminary sparring between the Willkie and anti-Willkie forces. Though Willkie sentiment is weakest among the GOP high command and strongest among the rank and file, the support he developed even within the national committee is something that the strong, silent man of Albany, N. Y., will doubtless be pondering. An Associated Press poll of the national committee showed Willkie and Dewey tied as the favorite for the presidential nomination with twenty-one votes each. "Runner-up" was Governor Bricker of Ohio with five votes.

Where Spangler and his feathered friends stand in the 1944 campaign was made clear when the Republican chairman cited the doublejointed GOP Mackinac Island resolution as the guide for the nation and declared: "To this time the present administration has not offered to the people any such declaration. The foreign policy of the administration has not been declared in direct and simple terms." This is only another way of attacking the Teheran agreement. That is the position of Hoover, Hearst, Landon, Colonel McCormick, Senator Nye, Gerald L. K. Smith and the other pro-fascists who are trying to control the Republican Party. Wendell Willkie, in his criticism of the administration's domestic policy and in his recent article about Russia in the New York *Times*, has shown a disposition to compromise with the ideas of this crowd. It remains to be seen whether he intends really to fight them or to shadowbox.

New Worry for Smith

REP. HOWARD W. SMITH, not relaxing his harrassing of government agencies, has turned for the moment to his old specialty of labor-baiting. He has discovered the CIO Political Action Committee, through an article written by the CIO president, Philip Murray, in the current *American Magazine*, and sees in Murray's words "a defiant confession of the violation" of section nine of the Smith-Connally act.

Atty.-Gen. Francis Biddle lost no time in acceding to Smith's written request that an investigation proceed "with a view to the indictment and prosecution" of the CIO officials "engaged in the conspiracy to control the national elections of 1944."

It enraged Smith to learn that CIO unions had made "an initial contribution of $700,000" to the committee. Section nine, he wrote Biddle, "makes it unlawful for 'any labor organization to make a contribution in connection with any election, at which presidential and vice-presidential electors or a Senator or Representative in, or a delegate or resident commission to, Congress are to be voted for.'" Unions may be fined up to $5,000 if guilty, and officers consenting to such contributions may be imprisoned for a year and fined $1,000 under the law.

The CIO long ago took pains to avoid any collision with section nine of the ill-advised Smith-Connally law. Its counsel, Lee Pressman, after a careful study of the law, a report of which was sent to all CIO affiliates, found that it had no application to primary elections, elections of delegates to political conventions or elections of state and local officers. He found that it did not prohibit spending money on behalf of the campaigns of individual candidates "provided the money is spent directly by such labor organizations and not by agreement or prearrangement with the candidates or their political parties or their political committees."

Money could be spent by a union as "part of its general activities in connection with a federal election by way of advancing the candidacy of a particular person," said Pressman, "by distribution of leaflets, arranging meetings of its members or the general public, etc." These activities were only the exercise of its rights of free speech, press, and assembly.

This is not the first time the Department of Justice has shown itself super-sensitive to pressure from reactionary congressmen. There is its spectacular record of inactivity regarding Rep. E. E. Cox of Georgia after the Federal Communications Commission turned over to the department evidence of his accepting money to represent a radio station before the FCC. In the one case it leaps to action, in the other maintains complete silence.

Sequel to Teheran

IT WAS strictly an after-Teheran labor conference, that of the CIO Political Action Committee held in New York over last week-end. Already moving easily among the perspectives opened up by the world-stabilizing Teheran agreements, labor leaders showed a statesmanlike grasp of labor's new problems. Not labor as usual or even political action as usual, but international cooperation, foreign trade in the postwar period, just what constitutes a full economy, and the extension of national unity in the peace and the clear distinction between pro- and anti-Teheran big business segments emerged as labor's own problems.

In Vice-President Wallace's address to the 400 labor leaders was a recognition of the renewed effort of reactionary forces to split labor from the President. It was a recognition which was not avoided by the conference, but soberly faced. The reactionaries now wooing labor were identified—as essentially anti-Teheran forces.

Against the background of Teheran Vice-Pres. Sidney Hillman looked forward to an "economy of abundance." As did many other speakers, Hillman warned against the estimate of General Motors Pres. Alfred P. Sloan that a full economy for the nation would be a $100 billion income. On the contrary, he said, that would mean unemployment of from ten to fifteen million workers. He projected a figure of $200 billion—on which speakers Alvin H. Hanson, special economic adviser of the board of governors of the Federal Reserve System, and Pres. James G. Patton of the National Farmers Union agreed.

"The great goals outlined at Moscow,

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Cairo and Teheran—the objective of a world at peace for many generations envisaged by Roosevelt, Churchill, and Stalin—will not be realized without struggle," said Hillman. There are those in this and other countries who still would play along at the old imperialist game, he warned. Wallace spoke similarly when he said there were two groups of big business in this country. "In one group are found those who believe in Allied war unity," he said, "those who have always hated and distrusted Hitler. In the other group are found those who believe in 'isolation first.' Some of these finance anti-Semitic movements. Some organize hatred of the President and discord in the Democratic Party. Others promote isolation in the Republican Party." They actually hoped to renew their past profitable relations with big German trusts. But there were plenty who believed in a Good Neighbor policy for all the United Nations as well as with Latin America. "If the common man has to choose between these two big business groups," said Wallace, "there is no question as to where his interest lies."

Within a few weeks the CIO committee will "take further counsel" with other groups and before long will "present to the country a political program that will meet the needs of the nation," said Hillman. The program will emphasize full employment in the postwar period, "the paramount issue facing the nation," and will be submitted to both major political parties. A second meeting will be held to formulate a program on foreign policy.

Rule or Ruin

NOT unlike the bourbons of another age the Old Guard of the American Labor Party learns nothing and forgets nothing. During last fall's primaries and elections it was repudiated by thousands of New Yorkers who disagreed with its policies and leadership. It was clear from the returns that the labor electorate insisted on a broad and genuinely democratic party to deal successfully with the critical issues of '44. But the Old Guard, blinded by the imaginary specter of Communism, demands that it be permitted to rule, otherwise it will ruin. It has decided to enter the primaries next spring with its own candidates (with the exception of one, none of its candidates won in last November's balloting), thereby continuing what is now obviously a treacherous course. Sidney Hillman's proposals for a unified and powerful ALP have been peremptorily rejected. And it is a measure of the Old Guard's stupid intransigeance that it would not do anything to put the party in a position to help carry the state for the White House program of national unity and speedy reconstruction after victory. Had Hillman's offer been accepted, a flock of trade unions now outside the ALP would have entered its ranks and given the organization backbone and perspective.

The battle in the ALP is no intra-mural affair. It goes beyond local borders into the national election scene for New York is a key state which may determine the outcome of next November's voting one way or another. The state's Democrats are handicapped by James Farley's influence and, therefore, are not providing the pro-Roosevelt contingents with the leadership they need. Silent Tom Dewey's Republicans are left unchallenged. And if the Old Guard pursues its divisive policies the upshot will be that the Republicans will carry New York—a tragic blow to the nation and the course charted at Teheran. Well, perhaps this is what the Dubinsky-Rose partnership has in mind. If it does not, then the alternative would be to create a political organization such as Sidney Hillman suggested. Fortunately there is reason to believe that it is still possible for the membership of the unions controlled by the Old Guard to demand that it return to political sanity. And the work of the Committee for a United Labor Party—supported by practically all New York CIO unions, a few AFL affiliates, and most of the ALP's county groups—is of great help in paving the way towards the unity of action against which Dubinsky and Rose are so vehement.

Drew—And Who Else?

PATROLMAN James L. Drew who hates Jews and would like to give them the Hitler treatment is still walking the streets of the city which numbers nearly two million Jews among its seven million. Patrolman Drew must be feeling good these days: he was "vindicated" by the Mayor's special commission, cleared of charges which every thinking person knows must be true, and then put on the air by the Mayor in a scandalous exhibition. John Roy Carlson, author of *Under Cover,* said last week: "I know personally and from first-hand information that Drew was associated with McWilliams and Elmhurst (the fascist rabble-rousers now under federal indictment). In addition he distributed publications of Mrs. Dilling and Ralph Townsend, who has been indicted as a Japanese agent, as well as others of similar character."

Needless to say the citizenry is aroused. They demand action; they want to know: who stands behind Drew? They want the minutes of his trial opened to public scrutiny. Why is it so monumental a task to rid the city police force of one who casts suspicion on the entire department? Why? The Jews who continue, at this writing, to be assaulted on New York's streets want to know why. The Negroes who know that the blight of prejudice against one minority inevitably spreads to all, want to know why. Labor, that realizes what happened in Germany to organized workingmen, wants to know why.

The answer is certainly indicated in Commissioner Herland's revealing report on anti-Semitism in the city. He struck home when he saw "an inclination to view these cases as ordinary acts of neighborhood hoodlumism unrelated to war conditions and . . . un-American, and anti-Semitic activity." He is irrefutable when he says that "The vandals and offenders have been inspired by the same kind of anti-American and anti-Semitic propaganda used by the Nazis as part of their technique of 'divide and conquer.' Such propaganda originated in Germany and was adopted by such domestic organizations as the Christian Front and the Christian Mobilizers among others."

Most significant was Mr. Herland's charge that police indifference was a factor. This is intolerable, but it will continue as a factor so long as such bluecoats as Drew remain on the force. New York's Finest must live up to their name; they cannot, so long as some of their associates are permitted to associate with fifth columnists—nay, to be fifth columnists.

Fortunately the good people of New York are gathering to combat the evil. We like many of Commissioner Herlands' proposals; decent, patriotic men of every category are already—as he proposed—meeting and formulating programs of action and education. That must be speeded; the compelling strength of an aroused, *united* citizenry—organized in *every neighborhood*—is the best reply to the sinister groups who stand—at present anonymously—behind Patrolman Drew and support his Hitlerist way of life.

Franco's "Good Will"

WHAT clearly emerges from the cross-currents of Spanish affairs is that Franco and the Falange are hanging on by their hair. Even before but particularly after Moscow and Teheran, Madrid's internal crisis reached new depths and now the whole kit and caboodle of Spanish fascism is trying to save itself from the consequences of Hitler's approaching defeat. By way of soliciting support abroad, the regime announced the dissolution of the Falange when actually it was incorporated into the army. Franco's spokesmen announced his shift to liberalism by declaring that the press would be allowed to express itself without government superintendence. But this so-called freedom of the press is the most cynical hoax, for only Falangist newspapers can be published. There was much talk also of amnesty for political prisoners, yet those few prisoners released have not been permitted to work and are under continuous police

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surveillance; the jails are now being filled again with others who express anti-fascist sentiment. And finally as a gesture of "good will" Madrid supposedly recalled the Blue Division from the Eastern Front. The truth is, as the Soviet government emphasized last week, Franco's troops are still operating alongside the Germans except that they are now called the Spanish Legion. But whatever the name they are killing our ally's soldiers. To top it all, Spain is supplying Berlin with strategic materials from her own resources and undoubtedly from those of other countries in this hemisphere who trade with her under the guise that she is neutral.

This, then, is the old case against Franco including some of the latest wrinkles. Tragically, sections of the American press have been passing on the drivel that he is making himself more agreeable to us and that therefore Americans can assume a less hostile attitude. To be sure Franco is forced to retreat somewhat for even many of his old supporters are beginning to desert him and his flirtation with some opposition elements is not leading anywhere. In fact the opposition, both the old intransigeants and the recent recruits, is thriving and broadening. Underground newspapers recently published a manifesto signed by the Supreme Council of the National Union comprised of Republicans, Monarchists, Catalan and Basque nationalists, Communists, Catholics, Socialists. The Council's program pledges an unyielding battle against the regime and offers a program for the nation's salvation. The founding of the Council is an event of great international importance. Its influence will be felt in Latin America where Spanish affairs are scrutinized with utmost care and concern. The end of the Falange in Spain would hasten its demise in the countries to the south. It would also mean that the ascendancy of Spanish democracy would come as a fresh spring breeze to the entire Spanish-speaking world and aid in the destruction of the conspiracies emanating from Berlin to Madrid to Buenos Aires to La Paz. American self-interest and hemispheric neighborliness demand a policy from Washington which would repudiate Franco and give heart to those ready to cleanse their country and who only ask that no obstacles be put in the way. Great events impend on the unhappy Iberian peninsula and we should be the first to welcome and foster them.

"Red Faces"

RECENTLY Frederick Woltman, the New York *World-Telegram's* professional Red-baiter, attacked Cornell University for retaining Dr. Joshua Kunitz, a former editor of NEW MASSES, as instructor in Russian history for army trainees studying at Cornell under the Army's Special Training Program. Woltman also Red-baited Vladimir Kazakevich, who taught Russian civilization at the University last summer when it offered special courses in Soviet history and literature. What appears below is a strong indication of how Cornell undergraduates felt about Woltman's diatribe. This expression of student opinion appeared as an editorial in the *Cornell Bulletin* (January 7) under the heading "Red Faces":

The New York *World-Telegram*, Scripps-Howard paper with a Big Red phobia, is once again trying to wrap members of the Cornell faculty and administration in the Soviet flag. The new attack is directed at Dr. Joshua Kunitz, instructor in the Russian Program of the Area Language Department.

The substance of the absolutely false *World-Telegram* accusation is this: Cornell authorities, through either incompetence or vicious intent, are seeking to foist a Communist instructor—rather than a straight-thinking American—upon ninety-three ASTP trainees for the purpose of indoctrinating them with wicked Bolshevik ideas.

Of course this is ridiculous.

In the first place, the only experts on Russia must necessarily have spent a great deal of time in that country since the Revolution. No one with anti-Soviet leanings has been allowed this freedom, and persons sympathetic toward the present government are the only individuals with first-hand knowledge.

Second, no one (including the Scripps-Howard and Hearst experts) has been able to dig up a shred of evidence that Dr. Kunitz has injected social or political beliefs into his course.

Third, neither Dr. Kunitz nor university authorities are trying to pull any of the time-honored fleece over the eyes of the Army. The Army periodically inspects the program which is under continuous military observation. All reports evidence complete satisfaction.

Dr. Kunitz was born in Russia and has conducted extensive studies in that country since becoming a citizen of the United States twenty-two years ago. He is a writer by profession and the field of his special competence is the Soviet Union. The only part of the American press interested in publishing up-to-date material on Russia was, until recently, the Leftist wing.

For the last four or five years, Dr. Kunitz has been engaged in writing and has had no tie with any organization or publication. If Messrs. Scripps, Howard, and Hearst demur that in the past he has been connected with NEW MASSES, *The Daily Worker*, *Asia*, and the *New Republic*, we retort So What? Would you have Eskimos prepare those ninety-three trainees to carry on effective relations with the Soviet Union?

We believe the ASTP trainees should get a real knowledge of conditions in Russia from the only people who are in a position to know. Most of these specially selected students have come from American homes and have had thoroughly American educations including college. If they are going to be "indoctrinated" by having a little Communism wafted in front of them now, heaven help their wavering minds when they get to Moscow!

The *World-Telegram* has claimed also that the university discharged Vladimir Kazakevich, earlier instructor in the Russian program, because that paper had "exposed Mr. Kazakevich's Communistic connections." President Day [head of the University] has declared that these comments are false and that Mr. Kazakevich would have been retained if he had been willing to remain on the staff.

That's the way it stands, Roy and William Randolph. Now if you're going to quote us, please get the wording straight and don't split any sentences.

Threat from the Argentine

THE fascist coup in Bolivia was needed, it has turned out, to prove to those who carefully insulate themselves from the meaning of current events that the Argentine coup of last June was a positive danger to the security of this hemisphere as well as to the successful prosecution of the war. The error of the hasty recognition on our part of the Ramirez regime in Argentina has been dramatized by the ousting of Peneranda in Bolivia. As a consequence our government has adopted a different attitude toward the La Paz coup than it did toward the one which occurred a half year earlier in Buenos Aires. In the case of Bolivia we have accepted the principle of collective investigation and, we hope, of collective judgment and action. It is inescapable to suppose that in view of the abundant evidence of Nazi influence transmitted to the new Bolivian junta via the Argentine junta, recognition will be withheld and other pressures initiated to isolate the clique of which Villarol is titular head.

This, however, is only part of the task that enlightened United Nations statesmanship needs to do in Latin America. The Bolivia coup was a derivative of the Argentine coup. The Nazi crowd around Ramirez is rapidly proceeding upon a course of complete nazification of the Argentine nation. They plan further attacks upon Latin American democracy. Last fall they tried to overthrow the democratic government of Colombia; the strength of popular support in which the trade unions took leadership bolstered the government sufficiently to frustrate the attempt. But Axis agents remain active throughout the hemisphere and they today constitute an actual threat in Uruguay, Chile, and Peru, to name but a few of the danger spots. Therefore, what must now be done speedily is to isolate the Latin American source of this poisonous infection. That source is plainly the fascist crowd in Argentina.

Unfortunately the fascist germ is now sufficiently rooted in Latin America so that it must be dealt with not only indirectly but directly. The destruction of Nazism in Germany will not automatically bring about the downfall of fascism in Latin America. Conversely victory over Hitlerism will be delayed so long as the fascist weed is permitted to spread on our side of the Atlantic. Moscow and Teheran have marked the road to the extermination of Hitlerism in Europe. The same spirit that animated those historic meetings must now be instilled into the policies pursued within this hemisphere.

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FDR SETS THE COURSE

By the Editors

THE President's message to Congress was one of his best, a deeply stirring document that appealed to the country's heart and intelligence. The message spoke in the global accents of Teheran and Cairo. It breathed the spirit of the new close relations that have been cemented with our allies for war and for peace. It brought to our nation's problems firmness and clarity and the large perspective of the future.

Security is the supreme objective for ourselves and for all the United Nations, the President said. Not only physical security, but economic, social, moral—"in a family of nations." There can be no just and durable peace without the control of aggression, but there can also be no just and durable peace without "a decent standard of living for all individual men and women and children in all nations."

Not wishful dreaming, but practical action can achieve that kind of security. The strength of Mr. Roosevelt's message lies in the fact that while it opened windows to the future and held forth the goal of a bill of economic rights, it summoned the country to the stern tasks and "prodigious sacrifices" that lie immediately ahead. It was in this context and "in order to concentrate all our energies and resources on winning the war" that the President offered his five-point program. If one were to judge from newspaper headlines, the program consisted of only one point, around which the entire message centered: national service legislation. And the newspapers also gave the impression that the statement issued by President Philip Murray of the CIO was likewise concerned with that and nothing else. But there were four other proposals in the President's program: "a realistic tax law—which will tax all unreasonable profits, both individual and corporate"; continuation of the law for renegotiation of war contracts; a cost of food law to put a floor under prices to the farmer and a ceiling on prices to the consumer; and extension of the stabilization act of October 1942 which is due to expire this June 30. And Mr. Roosevelt added a demand for legislation that would really enable the men and women in our armed forces to vote in the next election. As for Murray's statement, it was a strong endorsement of the President's message with the single qualification that it opposed a national service law.

IT SEEMS to us that the President's five-point program must be discussed in the way he presented it—as a whole. Certain liberals who support Mr. Roosevelt's plea for national service legislation are mistakenly following the lead of reactionaries and defeatists in concentrating on this proposal to the exclusion of all the others. They are forgetting that the President himself took care to make a national service law contingent on enactment of the other four points. No doubt he had in mind the fate that befell his seven-point economic program of 1942, when a virtual ceiling was put on wages while Congress blocked action on taxes, limitation of salaries, effective price control and his other proposals.

The President's program must also be viewed in the light of the task he set the nation of ending disunity on the home front—"bickerings, self-seeking partisanship, stoppages of work, inflation, business as usual, politics as usual, luxury as usual." Doubtless he was thinking especially of the Wheelers and Nyes and that "rightist reaction" against which C. E. Wilson, executive vice-chairman of the War Production Board, recently warned—a warning that Mr. Roosevelt cited. The President is countering disruptive sabotage by proposals designed to strengthen the economy and stiffen morale in order to carry through without delay the momentous military decisions of Teheran and Cairo which can crush Nazism in 1944 and guarantee the defeat of Japan shortly thereafter.

NEW MASSES favors the enactment of the President's five-point program, plus the genuine soldiers' vote bill that he requested. Concerning national service legislation our position has never been one of opposition in principle. In our Feb. 16, 1943 issue, shortly after the introduction of the Austin-Wadsworth national service bill, we declared: "To pose the problem of the organization of labor supply as one of compulsion versus voluntary methods is to get caught on the horns of an unreal dilemma. The real problem is centralized planning versus planlessness, and the new bill not only contributes nothing to planning, but would create obstacles to it."

At the time this was written our war production was in a serious crisis because of the failure to plan. Materials and manpower shortages, dislocations of various kinds, conflict between the Army procurement services and the civilian setup of the War Production Board combined to produce major bottlenecks in the manufacture of the indispensable weapons of war. In recent months that crisis has been largely overcome, not through overall centralized planning as we advocated and as was envisaged in the Tolan-Kilgore-Pepper bill, but through the more limited planning in the WPB's controlled materials plan and through the sheer size of our production plant and economic resources. True, much precious time was lost and our production is still not as adequate as it would be under proper planning. Yet in the main we are over the hump and some measure of rational order has been introduced. As a result, the objection we voiced almost a year ago to national service legislation loses its former weight. And when it is part of a larger program of economic stabilization we feel it can make a positive contribution to the war effort.

HOWEVER, we share the concern of the labor movement concerning the kind of national service legislation that may be written by Congress. Immediately after the President's message Senator Austin and Representative Wadsworth introduced a new version of their national service bill. Like the old version, it contains dangerous features. Though it gives assurances that no existing labor laws or procedures will be affected, it provides that no person assigned to service "shall be obliged to join any such union or organization if he or she should not freely choose to do so." This sounds innocent enough, but it can easily be interpreted in a way that would disrupt maintenance of membership clauses in many collective bargaining agreements.

The *Daily Worker* has suggested that representatives of labor, of the employers, of the White House, and of the win-the-war forces in Congress get together and jointly draw up a national service bill. This seems to us an excellent way to overcome the fears and hesitations in sections of the labor movement and to assure a law truly expressive of national unity.

President Roosevelt's recommendation that Congress begin to explore ways and means of implementing a new bill of economic rights gives further assurance that self-discipline for the winning of the war will lead, not to the loss of popular rights, but to their extension in the postwar period.

We must leave the President's budget message for our next issue. Mr. Roosevelt has set the course for 1944. He is giving us leadership worthy of one of the principal architects of Teheran. What will the response of Congress be? All of us who bear the proud name American have the duty to see to it that in this year of decision the country backs up the President and moves as one man to meet its historic responsibilities.

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WATCH ON THE POTOMAC by BRUCE MINTON

POSTWAR SENSE

Washington.

THE Moscow, Cairo and Teheran conferences have given an impetus to the discussion of postwar economic problems. In considering these questions it might be well to glance at a specific problem now confronting the administration—it is a preview of things to come. Largely because of the failure to plan, the government has had to terminate $5,000,000,000 worth of war contracts in the past six months or so. Termination means the cancellation of war contracts because the products contracted for are no longer required. When the war ends, over $100 billion of war contracts must be terminated—and that is a very conservative estimate. Therefore, the manner in which contracts are now terminated begins to establish the pattern for contract termination in the future.

At present, the procurement departments of the Army, Navy, and Maritime Commission have authority to terminate contracts. Naturally, these complicated negotiations are carried on with the prime contractors, with the big corporations who hold the original government contract. The sub-contractors, and the sub-sub-contractors, and the others still farther down the line (and most of these manufacturers working for prime contractors are by no means hole-in-the-wall operators, but often independents hiring hundreds of workers)—the large category of producers who are in war production, but are not dealing directly with the government, must wait until the prime contractors finish their negotiations before they can receive payments for goods they have produced, and before termination settlements can be made. They are caught in a situation over which they have absolutely no control, forced to twiddle their thumbs and hope for the best. The prime contractors—like General Motors or Ford or Westinghouse—usually can afford to wait for payments. But the sub-contractors often cannot wait without being faced with the grim prospect of financial ruin. The smaller operator cannot reconvert to civilian production or to some other type of war production without the money he has coming to him on termination. If this payment is long delayed, his plant stands idle and his overhead drives him into bankruptcy.

THE new uniform contract termination clause framed by Bernard Baruch and his assistant, John Hancock, and put into effect by War Mobilization Director James M. Byrnes, establishes the procedure for terminating prime contracts and limiting profits on articles begun but not completed. However, this clause does not deal with the problem of sub-contracts, though Messrs. Baruch and Hancock have announced that they are considering how to apply its principles to subcontractors.

It must be remembered that the largest monopolies do not frown on delays which bear down most heavily on the independents. For such delays drive the smaller manufacturers out of business, and the market is increasingly surrendered to monopoly to exploit without challenge. But bankruptcy of independents and growing monopolization hardly promise a stable postwar economy. Certainly, the result would not benefit the democratic way of life. Therefore, the present termination crisis, since it anticipates coming difficulties once the war draws to a close, must be solved in such a way as to preserve free enterprise—not the "Free Enterprise" of the NAM which is neither free nor competitive, but rather a program of free enterprise in which independent producers can continue in business and the life of the small enterpreneur is saved from extinction.

A planned approach to termination has been suggested to permit any contractor—including those holding sub-contracts—to borrow up to seventy-five percent of what is due him on termination to facilitate reconversion. In addition, the administration is asked to set up an Office of Contract Termination in Washington to determine general termination policy, and through regional offices all over the country to pass on claims of small businessmen, who are thereby spared the delay, expense, and difficulties of coming to Washington, and the unfair discrimination imposed on them by the present procedure. In addition, this government agency would be in civilian hands which would preserve the economy from military domination.

The above is a suggestion of far-reach-

"Frau Himmler"

AN INCONSPICUOUS note in the Nazi press announced that an old and experienced party member, Frau Frieda Brunner, hitherto *fuehrerin* of the Elite Guard women's association *Glaube und Schoenheit* (Faith and Beauty), had been appointed chief of the Gestapo's new women's division. Immediately the wags dubbed Frau Brunner—Frau Himmler.

Frau Brunner's new job is "to counteract by all means defeatism and ill will." This "plague," according to more or less open admissions in Nazi newspapers, is especially rampant among women. Particularly significant were the reports of the chief of all Nazi women's organizations, Frau Klincke-Scholz, after she toured the *Aufnahme Gaue* — those regions where evacuees are congregated from the most heavily bombed areas and from liquidated settlements in the east. In her report she kept harping on the theme that "It doesn't matter where the fuehrer sends us or leads us; our only duty is to follow him blindly." But there are many signs that such advice is not popular among women. And it is Gestapo agent Frau Brunner's job to intimidate all "whisperers, saboteurs, grumblers, and hidden enemies of Germany"—those whose faith in the fuehrer is waning.

Oddly enough the students who were once the Nazi's staunchest supporters are now honeycombed with "suspect elements." Frau Brunner initiated a special campaign to combat defeatist propaganda among women students in several southern German universities. About a hundred such students were arrested in Goettingen, Freiburg, Stuttgart, and Munich. Some of them were imprisoned and others were sent to labor camps. A group of them will be tried before the Volksgericht—the special Nazi court for high treason. This group is accused of having paid homage to the memory of one of the executed Munich students, Maria Scholl. She had been active, together with her brother and other students returned from the front, in the dissemination of the famous manifesto telling German youth to overthrow Hitler in order to save the German people from complete destruction.

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ing possibilities. It is simple enough and logical. Its adoption would help provide for an orderly postwar reconversion with assistance extended to the thousands of hard-pressed independents and smaller enterpreneurs. It is sensible postwar planning which all who want order, not chaos, after hostilities end should consider in the interests of a sane transition from war to peace.

Another postwar problem already on the immediate agenda in Washington is the disposal of surplus war property. Interlocked with the termination of contracts is the question of what to do with war plants now owned by the government, what to do with surplus products and raw materials. To date, the question has been approached conventionally, with the idea of getting rid of enormous quantities in the shortest possible time—without much concern over what is done with these products.

After the war, the government will own $20,000,000,000 worth of new plants, holding title through the War Rubber Corporation, the Defense Plants Corporation, and other such agencies. In addition, the government will also own at least $15,000,000,000 worth of consumer goods—tents, blankets, shoes, medical supplies, clothing, etc.—as well as vast stores of lumber and building materials. The war plants themselves are mostly subject to option rights extracted from the government by the big business sit-down strike before Pearl Harbor (late 1940 and early 1941), when the corporations refused to produce war materials unless they were assured that they would be given first opportunity after the war to buy plants built by the government and to buy them cheap. The disposal of these plants involves the entire problem of monopolization. If the big concerns are permitted to gobble up all the plants and equipment, the cream of America's productive capacity will be monopolized.

It is now proposed that plants should be made available to small business pools, to communities anxious to maintain production in what are now centers of war industry, to cooperatives of all sorts. Half-farm, half-industrial communities, for example, might want to establish a farm tools plant for the area. The land, plant, transportation, power, and labor are available, and the machinery can readily be converted. Why allow the plant to be taken over by a large corporation and either scrapped or utilized in such a way that it would not be an asset to the community? Why not allow the people of the locality, or a cooperative, or a group of small businessmen to use the plant and its equipment in a manner most beneficial to the community? Or, in the case of machine tools owned by the government, why should these tools not be disposed of in a way to safeguard the nation's economic health? We started the war with a shortage of machine tools; we will end it with a vast arsenal of them. These means of production could be made available to small business. They could also be used by the schools and colleges to provide vocational training and to raise the level of skill of our youth. Finally, technological processes, and in particular patents, should also be available to all, licensed out on equitable terms to anyone who can use them. A bill has been authored by Senator Kilgore to make these technological processes available to the people.

All such guaranties against monopoly control require planning. The Murray-Patman bill presented to Congress calls for granting the administration authority to determine what property is surplus, how to dispose of it, what should be held by government. The legislation would permit surpluses to be used to maintain or even establish small business, or to allow a war veteran to launch an enterprise with the proper equipment and with loans to help him get on his feet. Fortunately, both the Senate's Small Business Committee, headed by Senator Murray of Montana, and the Senate's Kilgore sub-committee are giving serious consideration to postwar problems. It is time for labor and all progressives to familiarize themselves with the problems and the suggested solutions.

FRONT LINES by COLONEL T.

VATUTIN DOES A JOB

EXACTLY a year ago this January 25 General Vatutin set his Voronezh front in motion and three days later inflicted on the Germans the stinging defeat of Kastornoye. After a year of zigzagging and triumphal marching, he has brought his regiments to a point 550 miles due west of his starting point—Voronezh. He is now approaching the river Styr, of World War I fame, where General Brussilov's men stood in 1916. The Styr and the Stokhod (just as famous and bloody as the Styr) are the only two natural obstacles between him and the junction of Kovel, sixty-five miles to the west of his vanguard. Here, south of the Pripet Marshes, he is threatening five major railroad junctions—Lunitnetz, the heart of the Pripet Marshes, forty-five miles to the north; Kovel, sixty-five miles to the west; Rovno and Zdolbunovo, eighteen and twenty-five miles to the southwest (these are twin junctions), and Shepetovka, some twenty-five miles to the south of his right-flank lines. Thus the southern front has assumed the shape of a huge "S," whose upper and westward bulge is Vatutin's salient, pointing toward the Curzon Line, 100 miles to the west, and whose lower and eastward bulge is von Mannstein's salient in the bend of the Dnieper.

The area of immediate decision is roughly at the "waist" of the "S," i.e., east of Vinnitza where Vatutin's forces are a few miles from the Southern Bug, and not more than twenty or twenty-five miles from the German "aorta"—the Lvov-Odessa railroad. Mannstein is counterattacking fiercely east of Vinnitza in order to keep his "aorta" pulsating. But this "aorta" is no longer pumping fresh blood into the bend of the Dnieper. For this it is too late. It is acting more like a vein than an artery, letting stuff flow out of the bend to Lvov, Warsaw, and Berlin. Should Mannstein fail in his counterblow against Vatutin and should the latter resume his march to the Bug, cross it (which would not be such a problem in the winter for an army which crossed the Dnieper in the autumn) and cut the vital rail line—von Mannstein's southern armies would be herded into Rumania and the Carpathian massif would then loom between them and the front which covers the approaches to Germany. To use a polo expression, Vatutin is "riding off" van Mannstein. He can do it by capturing any one of the junctions on that vital railroad between Tarnopol and Slobodka. These junctions are Tarnopol, Proskurov, Zhmerinka, Vapnyarka, Rudnitzki, and Slobodka, ninety, forty-five, twenty-five, thirty, forty-five, and ninety miles from the front lines, respectively. (Of course, cutting the main line anywhere between these junctions would be quite all right, too.)

Vatutin has been moving fast since Christmas day. In twenty days, for in-

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stance, he has covered 130 miles, from Malin to Stepan in the Rovno district, and 100 miles from Brussilov to Nemirov (where he has been temporarily stopped by von Mannstein's counterattack). As a result of Vatutin's westward march, two of the main German-held transversal lines (Zhitomir-Korosten and Rovno-Luninetz) have been cut. True, the Germans still can use a Grade-B line—Kovel-Yanov-Baranovichy (not shown on any of the available maps)—through the western part of the Pripet Marshes, but their next Grade-A transversal line is the one running from Brest-Litovsk to Kovel and thence to Rovno or Lvov. Thus the German southern wing has been for all practical purposes split from the center, with the treacherous Pripet Marshes wedged in between them (they never freeze over completely).

To put it "pictorially," the German colossus has been cut at the waist, with the lower part toppling back on the Carpathians, while his feet are still mired in the bend of the Dnieper.

MEANWHILE, on January 11, General Rokossovsky began a new offensive in southern Byelorussia and in three or four days overran the defenses of the key strong points of Mozyr and Kalinkovichy. The latter point is the junction of the Leningrad-Odessa line with the Moscow-Warsaw line (southern branch, running through Gomel). Rokossovsky's cavalry and tanks are now speeding from the fallen strongholds along both banks of the Pripet westward in the direction of Luninetz and northward in the direction of Slutzk and Baranovichi. Field-Marshal von Kluge's armies of the center are being pressed into the Pripet Marshes at pursuit tempo, while the line of his Dnieper strongholds—Zhlobin, Rogachev, Bykhov, Moghilev, and Orsha—is being flanked from the south.

Thus it may be said that the Soviet High Command after having unhinged the German southern wing is now tackling the center. Logically enough, it may be expected (this is written on January 16) that the turn of the northern wing will come soon and it will probably come in the form of a triple-drive at Leningrad, near Lake Ilmen (Novgorod or Staraya Russa) and near Nevel, approximately parallelling the successive drives at Krivoi Rog, Kirovograd and Zhitomir in the south.

It is, however, quite possible that a full-scale northern drive will be delayed until Rokossovsky and Popov have moved forward to the Molodechno-Minsk-Bobruisk line, to align with Vatutin's present position, and cover the left flank of the "crowbar" which will push to the Gulf of Riga, just as Vatutin's "crowbar" is pushing toward the Carpathians, with its right flank covered by the Pripet Marshes. (A Soviet offensive has just started in the Nevel area, in a general northwestward direction.)

The question is being asked frequently: why is Mannstein sitting it out in the Dnieper bend instead of moving out toward Lvov while the going is good? Why didn't he move out while his shock divisions were still on the line Ovruch-Fastov instead of where they are now? What is his game?

When Mannstein struck in the direction of Kiev in mid-November he intended to reestablish the Dnieper line for the winter. This is clear. His attack was offensive, not defensive. This is why he did not pull out of the bend at that time. But he failed miserably and was thrown back to his starting point in six days, and then, within two weeks, he was thrown back another seventy-five miles. Vatutin fooled him with his double punch—west and south. Now, faced with Vatutin almost on the southern Bug, Mannstein is faced with the task of holding out in the bend and holding up Vatutin's southern columns to give Hitler time to tighten his grip on his panicky Balkan satellites, especially Rumania. It takes time to find and trundle troops to Rumania. Meanwhile, Mannstein acts as a screen. Such is the thankless task into which Vatutin maneuvered him.

ON THE next-in-importance land front of this war in Yugoslavia, the situation appears as follows. The Germans, who were practically surrounded in central Bosnia (in an oblong "island" stretching roughly from Travnik to Prijepolje), are driving from the north and west in the direction of Konica and Sarajevo to break Marshal Tito's ring around their troops. With the occupation of Jaice they have broken that ring. The position of the National Army of Liberation is very serious. In eastern Bosnia and western Serbia Marshal Tito's men are doing well, not only against the Germans, but against their helpers—General Mikhailovich's men. It is, however, quite possible that the nucleus of Tito's regulars might have to withdraw into the fastnesses of Montenegro, while his flying guerrilla detachments continue and intensify their attacks against the German lines of communications into Italy, Hungary, and Rumania.

IN SLOVENIA Marshal Tito's forces are also doing well, some detachments fighting close to Gorizia in Italy and hovering all along the main railroad from Zagreb to Belgrade, attacking it ceaselessly. All the ports on the Adriatic are seemingly in German hands, but the enemy communications between those ports and the interior are far from reliable. The Germans are trying to make them secure by driving along the railroads from the north to Zara, Split, Metkovic, and Dubrovnik (Ragusa).

This department realizes that it is not easy for the reader to grasp the situation, which is complex in the extreme. There are no front lines to fix your pins on. The map looks like a small-pox rash. However, if it will make you feel better, there is something in this situation which this department also does not understand and it is this: here are two powerful Allied armies in southern Italy, hammering for four months against difficult mountain positions, in fact "playing polo in a corridor," where you can neither ride-off nor out-ride and where any maneuvering is virtually impossible. Since the middle of October, when the airfields of Foggia fell to us, no strategic objectives have been achieved here. None exist for hundreds of miles around. Rome, with all due respect to history and tradition, is not a strategic objective. Neither is the leaning tower of Pisa.

These two armies, punching so courageously, wading through mud and climbing hills, have so far not performed the only strategic duty which should have been theirs: to provide a "bolt-position," or a screen, if you prefer, for forces using southern Italy as a stepping stone for an invasion of the Balkans to help Marshal Tito, who is holding a great beachhead for us.

The terrain in Yugoslavia is certainly no worse than the one our men have to contend with in Italy. The communications are not long. Tito's men held some ports and the Adriatic islands for us some time ago. An Allied front built around the "snowball" of the Liberation Movement could have quickly grown into something fit to menace the Danube. It is 170 miles from Split to the Danube, or no more than from the Garigliano to, say, Grossetto, i.e., from "no place to nowhere." This is the puzzle of the Italian campaign which we hope will be solved soon.

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"WHOOSH AND BOOM"

The new German explosive rocket. Radio controlled bombs. Our own bazooka and jet-propelled planes. The Russian Katusha.

For the past several weeks, newspapers have reported that England may be threatened by a new German "secret weapon," explosive rockets of huge proportions, to be hurled at London from emplacements in France. There is, of course, every possibility that the Nazis do have long-range rockets-of-war, although many individuals with a professional acquaintance with weapons wonder what advantages they would have over bombs.

Since the London blitz of 1940, when Britain brought into play a rocket-powered parachute and steel cable device resembling the familiar coast guard lifeline gun, more than a dozen weapons have been introduced around the rocket. Most of these, for reasons of security, have received little attention, nevertheless, they are playing an important role. The Soviet Union and Germany lead in their development and use. It was the Soviet Union that devised rocket-powered small bombs (now also employed by the Luftwaffe) for blasting through tank armor which are also extremely effective against ships. Large, winged, radio-controlled rocket bombs are a German development first disclosed when one or more of them sank the new Italian battleship *Roma* by a fluke hit down the funnel.

Another Soviet weapon is "Katusha," a truck-mounted large caliber rocket "gun" which is loaded automatically and which helped turn the tide in the Battles of Stalingrad and Moscow; another type of large Soviet rocket, also used with great effectiveness at Stalingrad, requires only a "launching ladder" and no "gun" at all! Still another Soviet arm is a "super-shot-gun" with thirty barrels, which fire salvos of special anti-tank rockets. The Nazis have on many fronts used rocket mortars, contrivances with six short barrels each arranged like a "six-shooter's" cartridge chambers, which fire fifty-pound or heavier projectiles six or seven times as fast as a regular mortar. Multi-barrelled anti-aircraft "guns" of several types have been developed in Great Britain. And finally, there are the Nazi rocket cannon for planes, and the "bazooka," our rocket-powered one-man anti-tank cannon. The next few months will certainly see the introduction of additional rocket weapons. It is no overstatement to say that we are on the verge of another technological change in warfare.

With the curious exception of Japan, which has not yet brought any into action, the major belligerents have concentrated on the development of rocket arms for a single reason. Since the rocket carries its own propelling explosive, which burns gradually, and there is no explosion of a large powder charge inside a gun barrel, rocket weapons do not need the heavy, reinforced barrels of conventional guns, and they have no kick, i.e., they do not require heavy recoil mechanisms. The rocket "gun" is a simple aiming tube of very light weight. The bazooka, for example, discharges a two-and-a-half pound projectile, yet weighs less than a dozen pounds. A standard gun able to fire a shell of the same weight would weigh over half a ton and require a jeep or truck to tow or carry it.

Rocket projectiles are not to be confused with the jet-propelled airplane, whose development has just been announced and which is in production for the AAF and RAF. The Luftwaffe may soon employ such planes also. Like the rocket, the jet-propelled airplane, which several countries have been experimenting with for more than ten years, is driven by the "reaction" or recoil of an expanding gas in a chamber whose only exit is a nozzle to the rear. However, unlike the rocket, whose driving gases are wholly derived from the fuel mixture, the jet-propelled plane's gases are taken in great part from the surrounding air. Air not only supplies oxygen for consumption of the jet-propelled plane's fuel, but makes up the bulk of the gases flowing out of the propelling nozzle. A "rocket motor" consists of nothing but a combustion chamber and a nozzle. A "jet-propulsion motor," on the other hand, consists of an air compressor, a combustion chamber, a gas turbine spun by the products of combustion in the combustion chamber, and the rearward nozzle. Such a complex arrangement, of course, can't be used in a projectile. Nor, in fact, can it be used in a plane without paying a price.

Jet propulsion permits higher speeds than are obtainable with a propeller and engine, but the fuel consumption of jet-propelled planes is something prodigious. For the present, they are limited to extremely short range. They are of use only as defensive fighters—the best defensive fighters yet devised, but *defensive* equipment nonetheless, and therefore bound to be of limited effect on the course of the war, even if they should go into actual combat service before the second front brings victory in Europe.

The rocket is not at all new. It is, in fact, older than the gun. It was invented in China early in the thirteenth century and first used in defense of a northwestern Chinese city against Kubla Khan, in a battle which also saw the first hand grenades. Rockets came to Europe along with gunpowder. They were dropped, however, when an obscure German monk, Black Berchtold, invented the gun early in the fourteenth century. Rockets were revived again by Indian native rulers fighting British invaders late in the eighteenth century. An Englishman, Sir William Congreve, was impressed enough to devise an improved rocket, which bears his name and which destroyed Copenhagen in 1807, routed American troops at Bladensburg, Md., in 1814 and battered at Ft. McHenry in Baltimore harbor later the same year. (Thus Francis Scott Key's line, "rockets' red glare," in the *Star Spangled Banner.*) Rockets dropped out of military use once more, however, soon after 1850, when Krupp, Dahlgren and others began designing modern artillery. For the rocket gun's advantage of featherweight lightness is to be gained only at the cost of a serious disadvantage—lack of accuracy.

Compared to an ordinary shell or bomb, the rocket has an extremely difficult-to-calculate flight path. Since the consumption of the rocket's driving charge is spread over a considerable period of time, during much of the rocket's flight its weight and center of gravity are constantly shifting. Second, while the charge is still burning, it ejects a jet of flaming gas, creating a high air pressure area around its tail. But when the charge is finally consumed, the rocket becomes an ordinary projectile with the ordinary projectile's partial vacuum behind. Third, no two charges of powder ever burn exactly alike. The combination of these factors makes for a most variable flight path. Hence, rockets lack the nail-driving precision of standard artillery. The only rocket arms as accurate as comparable standard ordnance are small rocket bombs. By doubling bomb velocity and halving the time of flight from plane to target, the rockets reduce the greatest source of error in dropping bombs—the incorrect estimate of distance from plane to objective by the bombardier. It is only recently that the lack of accuracy of other kinds of rocket weapons has been overcome to an extent warranting the rocket's use.

The Nazis hint that their London rockets carry the high explosive bursting charges—the charges that explode when a projectile reaches its target and do

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the damage—of ten tons each and that they will have a marked effect on the course of the war. Both claims are to be doubted. On the first point, giant long-range rocket-driven projectiles, a hardy Sunday supplement perennial, have long been blocked by lack of a sufficiently powerful fuel. Any type of fuel used by the Allies would require a rocket of impractical size to carry ten tons of high explosive a distance as great as Calais-London (ninety miles). It is to be doubted that the Nazis have such a fuel; if they had, they would almost certainly have employed it in some way on the Soviet front before this and we would have heard about it, for the Red Army reports what it learns of German weapons quickly and widely. On the second German claim, even if the London rockets did carry ten tons of high explosives, they would not postpone the Reich's defeat for more than a short time. For the introduction of a single new weapon does not alter the course of a major war.

It is a common figure of speech to speak of a new weapon as "decisive." The figure is applied most often right now to the airplane. The airplane is a far more consequential military tool than any of the new rocket weapons, including the London-Calais super-blockbuster. Yet, used alone, planes have won only momentary victories, such as Pearl Harbor (only a landing by a Japanese army could have prevented us from repairing the damage as quickly as we did), and have failed more often than they have won. They failed over London in 1940; in a year of effort they knocked out only five percent of the Japanese military installations on Kiska; and if there should be no second front the RAF and Eighth Air Force could go on bombing Germany from now to doomsday and still be no nearer victory. The airplane's real triumphs—the Nazi victories of 1939-41, the long series of Soviet counteroffensives, the Allied advance in Africa and the central Mediterranean—have come only when it was employed as a member of a team of all *arms*. And that is the point: big wars are won by aggregates of arms.

If it materializes, the London rocket will be the fifth "new" weapon the Germans were the first to make use of in war. Only one of the first four, the submarine, has made a real mark on the history of war, and that in great part because of the skill with which it has been used in connection with other weapons, notably the plane, radio, and intelligence operations, and because of Germany's favorable geographic situation. The submarine, nevertheless, has a league standing of one war lost and another about to be lost. The records of the other three weapons are even less impressive. The first, gas, proved so conclusive in the first war that not even the Nazis themselves, history's most ruthless brutalitarians, have seen fit to employ it again except possibly on an extremely limited, experimental scale. The second, parachute infantry, have won only when dropped in overwhelming numbers. Even then casualties have been out of proportion to results gained. Finally, the winged glider bomb, has accomplished exactly nothing since its first, freak stroke. The London rocket will change the course of the war only if the Nazis are able, *which they are not*, to follow it up with a full-scale, all-arm assault upon England, just as "Katusha's" whoosh and boom were accompanied by the full symphony of every branch of the Red Army and Red Air Force in motion.

JOSEPH REED.

SLINGS AND ARROWS

Vladimir Pozner, the French anti-fascist writer, whose novels, "Edge of the Sword" and "First Harvest," were recently published in this country, is now in Hollywood working on a script for Warner Brothers based on a story by Vicki Baum.

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Probably the most prolific war writer in the world is Ilya Ehrenburg. In 1942 he turned out six hundred articles and his 1943 record at least equals it. Among Red Armymen he is the most popular of all Soviet writers.

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A group of Red Armymen, who had been surrounded by the Nazis, ran out of cigarette paper. They had an old issue of "Pravda" which contained an article by Ehrenburg, and they began to tear the paper up into small pieces and to roll their cigarettes in them. But they made sure not to touch the Ehrenburg article. Finally everything but the Ehrenburg piece had been consumed. And still no cigarette paper. The soldiers put it to a vote: "Shall we tear up Ehrenburg too?" The vote was in the negative.

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The Pocket Book of "War Humor," edited by Bennett Cerf, tells this anecdote: "Possibly you remember seeing Picasso's famous painting of a Nazi massacre in Poland when it was shown recently at the New York World's Fair. There are copies of it today all over the world. When a Gestapo agent raided Picasso's home in Paris, he discovered the original of this painting. He turned to its creator in a rage. 'Did you do this?' he cried.

"'No,' was the reply, 'you did.'"

This is a good story, and is better still when the facts are set straight. Picasso's painting of a Nazi massacre in Poland could not have been shown at the New York World's Fair because the World's Fair was over before the war started. And the painting is not of a Nazi massacre in Poland, but of the Nazi and Franco destruction of Guernica during the Spanish Civil War. It is the famous Guernica mural which was shown in New York several years ago at the Museum of Modern Art.

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A popular gag in London is a remark on the present situation in southern Italy. It is described as Amgotdaemmerung, or the Twilight of the Rodds.

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Robert R. M. Carpenter, retired du Pont vice-president, who recently bought control of the Philadelphia National League Baseball Club and made his son, Robert R. M. Carpenter, Jr., president, some years ago was interested in a different kind of venture. In March 1934 he wrote a letter to John J. Raskob, then a du Pont vice-president, attacking the Roosevelt's administration's relief policies. Raskob replied, urging Mr. Carpenter, who is a brother-in-law of Lammot, Pierre, and Irenee du Pont, to "take the lead in trying to induce the du Pont and General Motors groups, followed by other big industries, to definitely organize to protect society from the suffering which it is bound to endure if we allow Communistic elements to lead the people to believe that all businessmen are crooks, not to be trusted, and that no one should be allowed to get rich."

Mr. Carpenter must have proved very persuasive to his du Pont and GM relatives and friends, for five months later the American Liberty League was born.

PARTISAN.

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MOSLEY HUSH-HUSH

H. G. Wells finds that cushioning the shock for the British fascist is a profound shock for the British people. His story, suppressed by a Conservative British newspaper.

London (by mail)

THE substance of this article was discussed, commissioned, paid for, set up in type and then not used by a leading Conservative paper. I do not know why. At any rate, that is no excuse for silence on my part upon this important public issue.

It is so important and so significant of the state of affairs in this country at the present time that I feel an appearance of silence on the part of a journalist free to speak his mind would be not merely ambiguous but disloyal.

Of the quality of this man Mosley and his associates there can be no question. Mosley, so far as England is concerned, is the symbol of fascism, and it is against fascism that the common people of this country fight more intensely and with a greater unanimity of sacrifice than they have ever fought against anything in all their sturdy past.

He has the characteristic sadistic streak, the persecution mania toward Jews, Bolshevists, honest intellectuals, insurgent workers, and indeed toward anything that can be assailed and persecuted, which is characteristic of the fascist and Nazi movement wherever it gets its grip upon things.

He is the unoriginal ape of Mussolini, and he would be entirely contemptible in himself were it not for the horrible possibilities in human nature that have evoked and stimulated the simian in him and made him thrust himself forward as its British symbol.

This evil thing that has brought disaster upon the world, and of which he is the exponent, is a veritable mud volcano of the worst elements in human society, the acquisitive, power-grasping, hating and tormenting types, in a conspiracy to dominate mankind. And this time the conspiracy is worldwide because now all things are becoming worldwide. Like calls to like from the Argentine to Japan.

BUT these grasping, bullying, aggressor types would have small chance of dominating the world in the face of human indignation were it not for the vastly greater multitude of meanly submissive and abject people who are willing to be their tools and implements.

There is always a pack of curs ready to bark at the command of every bully, and a still greater multitude ready to lie low and say nothing in the presence of stark injustice. It is the meanly meek who betray freedom.

It is the snob and the foolish advocates of compromise and propitiation, quislings and Munichеers together who are chiefly responsible for the hideous mess in which we flounder today.

But for them, this eruption of crazy fascist filthiness of which this Mosley is the British symbol, could never have overwhelmed our world.

It is hard to write without passion of the evil, the misery, degradation, and almost intolerable strain, that has been wrought upon the major part of mankind by this collaboration of the violent and the mean.

Hundreds of millions of lives, bearing an incalculable treasure of hopes, have been impoverished, disorganized, stunted, and spoiled, homes have been destroyed by scores of millions, and scores of millions of human beings have been torn apart and scattered and dishonored and enslaved.

London Daily Worker

"Excuse the bumpy road, Sir Oswald."

One must be dull in imagination and obtuse to pity if, because one has had the good luck to be missed oneself in this stupendous melee, one is not moved by a passion of anger at the promoters of this planetary disaster.

And of these promoters, Mosley, so far as the British government and people are concerned, stands first and foremost. To condone him is to condone essential evil.

Let us consider how this situation has arisen.

THIS country was intensely averse to another war. It was lulled by its rulers into a shabby acquiescence in the aggressions that menaced it. It was a broken reed to its allies. It did not awaken to the call of justice; it was awakened only by the grim inevitability of the advancing attack.

So that at long last it was taken unprepared and had to improvise its defense swiftly and roughly. Manifestly it had traitors, spies, and enemies within its gates, and very many who might or might not betray it.

Prompt internment of all suspicious characters under the 18B order [the order under which enemies of the state during the war have been interned] was inevitable. Possible friends and possible foes had to be put out of harm's way until their cases could be examined. So far, the emergency government did precisely what it was reasonable to do.

But, according to all the traditions of British life, the next step that should have been taken as soon as the first tension lifted was a jail delivery, and 18B should have been relegated to the list of no longer necessary expedients.

The imprisoned people should have been brought to trial and either convicted or released.

The real traitors should have been shot, hung, jailed, and so forth, according to their merits, and those who were cleared should have been admitted to the status of acceptable allies.

In a world where a lot of killing was going on, the shooting or hanging of a few of the more flagrant fascists, not for their opinions but for their activities, would have had a very wholesome effect.

But in this matter we were reckoning without the peculiar psychology of our Mr. Herbert Morrison, the Minister of Home Security, and the characteristic indisposition of Mr. Churchill to shelve any colleague he has got used to.

MORRISON is a man who has "got on" in the world and has failed to get over his realization of the fact. He seems to be amenable to social influences and loath to

(*Continued on page 27*)

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HEADLINE MAP-MAKERS

Alter Brody takes them apart. With all the shifting of political frontiers, ethnographic Russo-Polish border was consistent for 900 years. The New York Times and its pretended naivete.

On January 4, the Red Army retook Novogorod-Volynsk and swept westward. The American press hailed the event by blossoming out into headlines, "Red Army Crosses Polish Border," and their editorial columns worked themselves up into a state of hysterical suspense as to how the Polish government-in-exile would react to the "invasion." The Soviet Union had made it abundantly clear that the only Russo-Polish frontier it recognizes is the ethnographic frontier between the Polish and the White Russian and Ukrainian peoples, which corresponds roughly to the Curzon line laid down by the Allied Supreme Council in 1919 as the eastern boundary of the newly constituted Polish state. As the Soviet ambassador to Mexico, Konstantin Oumansky, had occasion to remind us some time ago, the Russo-Polish frontier is considerably further west. But if our headline and editorial writers had known a little more about Russo-Polish history they might at least have specified *which* Russo-Polish frontier they had in mind when they spoke of the Red Army "crossing the Polish border." For there were many Russo-Polish borders during the 900 years of Russo-Polish history as there were many Anglo-French borders during the 900 years of Anglo-French history—one of which (lasting several centuries, until Joan of Arc revised it) stretched clear across half of France to Paris and the Pyrenees.

Were the headline writers perhaps referring to the earliest Russo-Polish frontier which can be found on the maps of most college history texts as the boundary between the Russian Grand Duchy of Kiev and the Kingdom of Poland during the eleventh and twelfth centuries? That frontier has not yet been reached by the Red Army, and curiously enough it corresponds almost exactly to the ethnographic Curzon line. Were the headline writers perhaps referring to the boundaries which Poland achieved as a result of its dynastic union with Lithuania in the fourteenth century when Lithuania had conquered so much of Russia that it became a predominantly Russian state? This frontier, stretching from the Baltic to the Black Sea, which with occasional changes lasted almost three centuries, from 1383 to 1667, has been the not always suppressed desire of Polish imperialist circles to this day. This desire is identical with the "frontier" which Nazi Germany achieved at the high tide of its invasion of Russia on Dec. 1, 1941, when its armies had engulfed the whole of the Ukraine and White Russia and, penetrating deep into Great Russia, stood before the gates of Moscow.

It is hardly news that the Red Army had crossed *this* former Russo-Polish frontier when it retook Mozaisk, Vyazma, Rzhev, Orel, Kursk, and Kharkov. But perhaps the headline writers were referring to a later Russo-Polish frontier which lasted from 1667 to 1772. The Red Army crossed it when it retook Smolensk, Kiev, Chernigev, and Poltava. Or were they referring to a subsequent Russo-Polish frontier which lasted from 1772 to 1793? The Red Army crossed it when it retook Gomel, but it has yet to cross it at Vitebsk, Polatsk, and Mogilev. Were the headline writers referring to the frontier of 1793 to 1795? The Red Army crossed it when it retook Zhitomir, Berdichev, and Belaya Tserkov but it has yet to cross it at Minsk. Or perhaps they had in mind the frontier of 1795 when Poland disappeared as an independent state and Russia's border with Poland became Russia's border with Prussia and Austria? The Red Army will only reach that frontier when it takes Vilna, Grodno, Brest-Litovsk, and Kamenetz Podolsk.

Or perhaps the headline artists were referring to the frontier of 1815 to 1918 when a part of ethnographic Poland was for the first time incorporated into Russia at the Congress of Vienna as an autonomous Kingdom of Poland. Or were they referring perchance to the Curzon line laid down by the Supreme Council of the Allies whose victory had resurrected Poland? That boundary failed to materialize at the time, for the Polish government refused to abide by a mere ethnographic frontier. It was only twenty years later, on Sept. 17, 1939, that the Red Army was able to carry out the 1919 intentions of the Allied Council. Unfortunately, by that time Polish foreign policy had helped to create a situation in which there was no Poland on the other side of the Russo-Polish ethnographic frontier.

It boils down to the fact that by the Russo-Polish frontier the headline and ediorial writers seem to be referring to a Russo-Polish frontier forced on the Soviet Union through the Treaty of Riga in 1921 by a victorious Polish army of invasion. It lasted for a mere eighteen of the 900 years of Russo-Polish history—hardly long enough for an "historical" claim. And it all boils down to another fact, namely, that in all the shiftings of the political frontier the ethnographic Russo-Polish frontier has remained virtually unchanged for 900 years from the Grand Duchy of Kiev to the founding of the Soviet Union.

On the other hand both the ethnographic and political western frontier of the Polish people and their border with the Germans, has been forcibly shifted by German aggression in those same 900 years. East and West Prussia, Danzig, Posen, and the Warsaw region which together formed ancient "Great Poland," and the Cracow region and the whole of Upper Silesia which formed ancient "Little Poland" have at various times been forcibly annexed by Prussia and Austria. In the case of East Prussia, Danzig, and Northern Upper Silesia, this political occupation was forcibly turned into an ethnographic occupation by Germany. The Union of Polish Patriots in Moscow which has not been so widely recognized as the reactionary emigre government but which has the prestige and authority of the only Polish armies that are fighting for the liberation of Poland alongside the Red Army (while the emigre government's army is inactive in the Middle East) suggested last year the return of East Prussia, Danzig, and Northern Upper Silesia to Poland. This would make the country strong and independent. Last week the Soviet government also reaffirmed its desire to see a strong and independent Poland by the return to Poland of territories taken from it by the Germans. This would make possible the rebirth of a Poland within its ancient ethnographic boundaries with a vital coastline and numerous harbors on the Baltic.

In contrast to the historic contributions made by the Union of Polish Patriots to the rebuilding of their country, a Union of Polish Politicians—misrepresentatives of many Polish-American organizations—has launched in the form of a letter to the New York *Times* of January 8 a campaign of Goebbels-like slander and vituperation against the USSR. This letter is certain to damage the cause of Polish freedom because it is anti-United Nations both in tone and content. In their letter these politicians make a thinly-veiled threat "as to the way Americans of Polish descent will vote" in the 1944 elections if the country and the White House do not bend to their will. It is an attempt to split the unequivocal unity which our country must have as the zero hour approaches for the greatest and most decisive military effort in our national history. Americans are in no mood to be told, as to all intents and purposes the letter in the *Times* tells them, to be prepared to shed their blood again

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in a war against an heroic ally, the USSR, in order to enslave the White Russians and Ukrainians of "Eastern Poland" under the hated Polish yoke. This document only confirms the conviction that the emigre government in London, which is the intellectual supervisor of this letter's writers, is too reactionary and hostile a group to be entrusted with power in a strong and independent Poland.

Any lingering hopes that the Soviet Union may have had in the present Polish government-in-exile were dashed by that group's impudently evasive reply to the forthright generous proposal of the Soviet Union to solve the Soviet-Polish boundary question to Poland's benefit. As the Red Army nears the real ethnographic frontier of Poland, it is becoming increasingly urgent both for the Soviet Union and the people of Poland to have in Poland a government which represents the Polish people and not some emigres in London or Polish-American politicians trying to play political football with Americans of Polish descent. The Polish government-in-exile is playing for time but time is not playing for the Polish government-in-exile. The time for a real representative Polish government cannot be delayed much longer.

THE New York *Times*, which has given so much space to a one-sided discussion of this "border" controversy, keeps reiterating editorially with pretended political naivete that the USSR is trying to solve the Soviet-Polish frontier problem unilaterally, thereby violating the Moscow Conference. There is, however, an all-important difference between the dispute over the Soviet-Polish frontier and the future European questions which the Moscow Conference declaration had in mind. The question of White Russia and the Western Ukraine is not a new question that has recently arisen but an old question, arbitrarily reopened by the Polish government. If the United States and Mexico were involved in a dispute because the United States desired to annex the Mexican province of Sonora, that would be a dispute which could be legitimately settled by international arbitration. But if Mexico chose to reopen the question of Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, and California, the United States would have every reason to regard international arbitration as a presumptuous indorsement of the justice of Mexico's claims and an unwarranted intrusion into Mexican-American affairs.

This holds true for the New York *Times'* attempt (as I write) to get Washington and London to intrude into the Soviet-Polish frontier problem. It can be settled bilaterally between the Soviet Union and Poland and any attempt to drag in the British and American governments hampers United Nations unity.

ALTER BRODY.

The broken lines of this map indicate the changing frontiers of the Polish Empire which, at its height, penetrated into the heart of Russia almost as far as Hitler's empire in those fateful days when the Nazis were within sight of Moscow. Wistful maps of this old Polish Empire dominate Polish histories now being published in this country and in England through official Polish sources. The heavy black line indicates the boundaries of ethnic Poland, the state which in the language of Poland's national charter—Point Thirteen of President Wilson's famous Fourteen Points—"should include territories inhabited by indisputably Polish populations." The areas marked in black are to be ceded by the Soviet Union to Poland. In addition, East Prussia and Northern Upper Silesia are to be taken from Germany.

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SIMPLE HUMANITY

FAIR play is a typical American phrase; we pride ourselves, and rightly, that it expresses a national trait as traditional as the homely integrity of Abe Lincoln. It is a popular manifestation of our democratic, our broadly humanistic, tradition. Our very language is studded with idioms describing our uncompromising attitude toward the underhand deed: "hitting below the belt," "dirty work at the crossroads," "the stab in the back"—you know the many folk-words that are spoken with a curl of the lip. I know there are similar idioms in all lands and I want to write here of a deed that would be described as "dirty" in any man's language (with the exception of men like Himmler of Germany, where that concept has become a way of life). I want to talk of the case of Mrs. Raissa Browder.

AS A family man, and as an American, I am horrified that such a phenomenon can occur at this stage of our national life. It just doesn't belong. I join the many thousands now expressing their indignation and shock to the President himself, who surely can have nothing in common with those responsible for this shameful act of political sadism. In brief, Attorney-General Biddle believes that Mrs. Browder should be deported from this country; practically, this man is saying that her family should be torn apart, that she should leave her husband, her children—or that they should tear up roots and leave the country with her. Actually he says, "I hate that name Browder so much that all elementary considerations of humanity should be ignored wherever he is concerned." Mr. Biddle is violating the whole spirit and tradition of our democracy; of simple, human decency. Furthermore, he reveals attitudes inimical to national unity, perilous to the effective conduct of the war.

He believes he can achieve this deportation by rigging up a set of technicalities—an old, all-too-familiar dodge that dare not obscure the basic considerations involved. The utter transparency of the dodge is immediately obvious when one considers the following facts:

Mrs. Browder is numbered among the half million of American residents, the overwhelming majority of whom are productive, decent citizens, who were born in another land and are in the United States without benefit of an immigration visa. She lived here for more than a decade with her husband, and her three sons—Felix, seventeen, Andrew, thirteen, and William, ten—, all of whom attend public school in Yonkers. Save for herself, all the Browders are American citizens. The question of good character has never even entered the case: her neighbors, some forty-five of them, have written the President in her behalf.

American policy has ever been to guarantee the unity of American families. If one or another member chanced to be born in another country, the law took that into consideration in the interests of keeping the family together. That is public policy: it reflects the will of the average American. Yet it has been violated in the case of Mrs. Browder. Here is the *only known instance where the wife and mother of American citizens has been refused the right to live with her family in the United States after ten years' residence:* she has been given the bleak alternative of breaking with her family or being exiled with them.

THE facts are these: public policy affords provisions to secure the status of such persons as Mrs. Browder who are already in the United States without an immigration visa. The only exceptions provided in this well-established public policy are certain well-defined criminal categories, and political enemies of the United States government, and anarchists. Mrs. Browder by no stretch of interpretation falls into any one of these categories. Yet she has been denied the usual remedy provided by law in the absence of a formal immigration entry under visa, and has been ordered deported on the suspicion that she might be an enemy of the United States. *"Suspicion . . . might be . . . ! !"* The record proves that this suspicion is not based upon any evidence but is based upon totally false assumptions growing out of the fact that she is Earl Browder's wife and that the Soviet Union is her land of origin.

In regard to the latter: who, at this stage of the game, dares contend that her "country of origin" is an enemy of the United States government—except those who disbelieve in the aims of this war, who reject the Teheran agreements, who chronically veer toward the Hitler line. The very charge itself is an insult to that ally which has contributed tremendously to the security of our nation's sovereignty.

The other aspect is her association with her husband. In other words, Mrs. Browder is to be punished because she is Mrs. Browder, the wife of a man whose name means a great deal to millions in America and throughout the world as an uncompromising antagonist to fascism. She is to be deported because some official dislikes Earl Browder's ideas. She and her three sons are to be inhumanly punished because Earl Browder is a Communist. That is the long and short of it—and every American may well be ashamed that this is the case.

BECAUSE of her association with a Communist leader, the authorities in question *assume* that she *may be* affiliated with an organization believing in the overthrow of this government by "force and violence." They admit they have no evidence to prove this assumption and they demand that she accept the burden of proving otherwise—a demand that is in itself an outrageous violation of American tradition. This whole issue is as phony as Hitler's racist theories: there is ample evidence available in addition to the oft-declared position of the Communists themselves. The majority opinion of the United States Supreme Court in the Schneiderman case throws a great deal of light on this score. And if this question needs further clarification, it certainly should not be on the occasion of deciding whether this mother should remain with her family.

In brief, there is nothing in the case which warrants the brutal attitude toward Mrs. Browder. This is a simple case of persecution, hewed out of the Nazi line. It has no more place on the American scene than a Schutzstaffel Korps.

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READERS' FORUM

Jewish National Problem

TO NEW MASSES: Mr. Zukerman's article in the December 21 issue both merits and demands an answer. His account of the unprecedented massacres of Jews under the Nazis is dignified and restrained; moreover his humanity is broad enough to find a ray of hope for Europe's peoples in their remarkably changed attitude towards the Jews. It is to Mr. Zukerman's credit that he recognizes the danger that a new upsurge of anti-Semitism may find its spiritual home in England and the United States; that reactionaries will attempt to use it for purposes which have nothing to do with Jews.

Then, Mr. Zukerman points out what appears to be an appalling callousness on the part of the American people toward the calamities visited upon the Jews, remarking that Lidice aroused more indignation than the infinitely greater atrocities committed against the Jews. In attempting to explain this indifference as well as the plight of the Jews, Mr. Zukerman leaves much to be desired. Calling the present Jewish problem a twentieth-century problem and the present official attitude of the American and British governments a nineteenth-century attitude, does not, unfortunately, elucidate the difficulty. Indeed, Mr. Zukerman's confusion adds grist to the mill of those reactionaries among the Zionists who would use the Jewish problem for their own ulterior ends. Take, for example, the argument which runs somewhat as follows: If the Jews had Palestine as their recognized state they would have representation in the councils of the United Nations and could thus represent the Jews of Europe and the world. And following this line of sophistry, these Jews attack the Moscow and Teheran conferences and discredit the war effort of President Roosevelt. Now, regardless of the merits or demerits of a Jewish homeland in Palestine—and this is not the issue of the present discussion—the presumption and arrogance of those who claim that Palestine could speak for the whole world of Jewry must be brought up short. Isn't it precisely such arrogance that in great measure has brought the world to its present sorry plight? Can Jews forget even for a moment who it was who claimed the right to speak for all Germans, not only for those who lived in Germany proper, but for the Germans of Milwaukee and Montevideo as well? Mr. Zukerman's position must leave no loopholes for such as these.

The crux of the problem, it seems to me—and here is where Mr. Zukerman's confusion arises—lies in the attempt to treat the Jewish question as a national problem as distinguished from the problem of several national minorities. The fact remains that neither the Jews of Europe nor America are a nation and solutions which fly in the face of this fact will bring disaster as inexorable as Hitler is merciless. . . .

True, the Jewish question is not just any national minority question; it claims certain special characteristics which need special attention. The Jewish problem cannot be solved on the basis of the US Constitution, the Magna Carta or the Napoleonic code. The Jewish plight is so grave that only by receiving special protection can Jews be assured political equality along with other citizens just as woman needs special protection to assure her equality with man. It is to Mr. Zukerman's credit that he recognizes this and his criticism of the Bermuda conference is fully justified in this regard. Chief among the special protective measures required by Jews is the outlawing of anti-Semitism, making the profession or practice of anti-Semitism a statutory crime. Perhaps the majority of Jews have come to recognize that such measures will be necessary in Europe; it is necessary to understand the like for the United States and England.

PHILIP SHARNOFF.

Cleveland, O.

New York's Disgrace

TO NEW MASSES: I have sent the following letter to Governor Dewey at Albany: "You will undoubtedly receive an avalanche of letters urging you to exercise clemency and commute Mr. Schappes' sentence, thus freeing him to serve his country in these days of stress and turmoil.

"You have enough evidence of the high moral standard of Mr. Schappes and on that ground can act to promote justice in our great state of which you now have the privilege to be the highest official.

"We citizens look to you, and trust we may not be disappointed. I happen to be the director of a large cultural group whose sentiments and hope I am expressing to you."

MRS. EVA ROBIN.

New York.

Immortal Divisions

TO NEW MASSES: Occasionally I purchase your magazine. One was of Nov. 30, 1943. I found it quite interesting, especially the article on Lewis H. Morgan. However, I am dubious about some of your stuff. Colonel T.'s "Front Lines, November to November" is quite ridiculous and rather careless with his figures in disposing of the enemy: "He states that the Germans had 257 divisions—3,855,000 men. He states the enemy lost, officers and men, 1,800,000 killed, 1,700,000 wounded, 440,000 captured with total casualties of 3,940,000."

By his own words (Colonel T.'s) the Russians inflicted 85,000 more casualties than the total amount of soldiers composing the German armies on the Russian Front. Now don't tell me these were all replaced.

GEORGE C. RAMER.

TO NEW MASSES: Now, dear Mr. Ramer, we are not going to try to "tell you" anything. We are simply going to state some military facts.

If we assume, for the sake of simplicity, that a division is composed of 15,000 men we find that an army corps of three divisions does not number 45,000 men, but about 60,000 because there are such things as corps troops, not included organizationally in the divisions (extra artillery, armor, engineers, supply, headquarters and other troops). If we take an army of three corps, it will number not 180,000 men, but close to 225,000 men. Thus the nine divisions composing the army instead of numbering 135,000 men, number in fact 225,000. And so on up the "ladder."

Thus it may be said that when talking of immense armies like those on the Russian Front, it is safe to multiply the number of divisions by 30,000, *not* by 15,000, in order to determine the number of men involved.

Thus we see that 257 divisions would represent roughly close to 8,000,000 men in the field.

But this is only one side of the story. Civilians only too often think that a division (or regiment, or what have you) is like a pair of shoes: when worn out it is thrown away. This is not so. A division is practically immortal. It loses men and then is replenished. During a hard fought campaign a division of 15,000 men can let pass through its ranks as many as 30,000 men. During a year of continuous fighting a division may lose in casualties as much as three times its own complement (122 men per day).

Thus from November 1942 to November 1943, *eighty-seven German divisions alone might have conceivably lost* 3,940,000.

I do not claim that this is precisely what happened. I mention this only to show you the disadvantage of being hasty with military matters.

COLONEL T.

MORRIS SCHAPPES has been in Sing Sing seven weeks. So far no indication has come from Governor Dewey that the desires of hundreds of thousands will be heeded—that Schappes be returned to his place in this war. In other words, the governor needs further confirmation of the increasing demand for Schappes' liberation. We urge our readers to continue to let Governor Dewey, at Albany, N. Y., know their wishes. To flag, to let down is to accept fatalistically the outrageous prison sentence Schappes is serving. What have you done about it?—The Editors.

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AN AMERICAN LOOKS AT LENIN

In 1919 Albert Rhys Williams described at first hand the founder of the Soviet Union. His book is "a priceless American testament."

On Sept. 2, 1918, the New York *Times*, intrigued with one of its periodical reports of Lenin's death, paid editorial tribute to the leader of the Bolshevik Revolution. With its habitual flourish of post-mortem magnanimity, the paper invoked the past tense to concede that "Lenin was the most remarkable of the personalities brought by the World War into prominence from obscurity." The *Times* acknowledged that there had been no evidence whatsoever to support the canard that Lenin was a paid agent of Germany. It quoted an American who had known Lenin and described him as "the greatest living statesman in Europe."

The *Times* scooped itself by six years. They were years of anguished penitence. As if to clear its conscience, the paper all the more intemperately smeared the man upon whom it had bestowed a benediction so embarrassingly premature.

In those early days of the Revolution, the American press confected an image of Lenin, the gargantuan distortions of which not even a quarter of a century has quite erased. "Special correspondents" in Paris, London, Stockholm, and Copenhagen—the farther from Russia the better—vied with each other in their imaginative montrosities. In one day's newspapers the "Mongolian Monarch" and "Red Tyrant" was portrayed in Barcelona, Siberia, Moscow, and Berlin. In the *Saturday Evening Post* the renegade Socialist John Spargo ran an article on Lenin based on the revelations of Burtzev, "the old-time Revolutionist," who like the "old Bolshevik" Krivitzky, some years later, was in league with the worst enemies of the Soviet Union. The notorious Sisson documents attempted to portray as a hireling of the Kaiser the man who was in fact the chief opponent of Junkerism and German imperialism, the man, who, as General Von Hoffman admitted, "defeated Germany."

But in those early days, one prefers to recall, there were also honest and courageous newspaper men who made it their business to see for themselves. Despite blockade and censorship, at great personal hazard, they succeeded in drawing up and presenting to the public a minority report which time has shown to be overwhelmingly correct. Of these writers who actually saw Lenin at work the outstanding is of course John Reed. On this twentieth anniversary of Lenin's death we should recall too the pioneer work of another American journalist, Albert Rhys Williams, who has lived to see fulfilled the dream of Lenin and who has reported the brilliant success of Joseph Stalin, the greatest follower of Lenin, in such books as *The Russians* and *The Soviets*.

Lenin in the Kremlin courtyard, October, 1918.

The other day, in one of those old bookshops that surround the New Masses office, I came across Mr. Williams' *Lenin: The Man and His Work*, published in 1919 by Scott and Seltzer. Long out of print, the book stands up as a priceless American testament to the founder of the Soviet Union. The volume includes the impressions of Col. Raymond Robins, head of the American Red Cross Mission, who went to Lenin as a diplomat; of Arthur Ransome, who knew the Russian language and people, and who came to Lenin as a journalist; and of Mr. Williams, who came as a Socialist from America. The author talked from the same platform with Lenin, rode on the same train, lived in the same hotel, the National Hotel at Moscow, for two months. This, then, is primary material about Lenin written on the spot by an observant and forthright American.

Williams saw Lenin first not in the flesh, but in the minds and spirits of five young Russian workingmen who had returned from exile in America to Petrograd in the summer of 1917. These men were not hero-worshippers; they were scientific and realistic. Yet they were one in celebrating the great integrity and intelligence of Lenin, who was at that time an outlaw hunted by the Provisional Government. They left no doubt of the confident enthusiasm Lenin inspired in the common man.

On Nov. 7, 1917, the Bolsheviks proclaimed Russia to be a republic of soviets with Lenin as its premier. Williams was present in the great hall at Smolny where a singing throng of soldiers and peasants and workers, flushed with triumph, greeted the new premier. Williams' first reaction to Lenin as he stepped upon the tribunal was one of keen disappointment. He was not large and impressive, but short and stocky. Without theatrical declamation, he spoke in an unimpassioned, matter-of-fact tone. "Comrades," he began, "we shall now take up the formation of the socialist state." His thumbs were thrust in his vest at the arm-pits; he rocked back and forth on his heels. The foreign visitors had expected "a sort of super-Bolshevik." An English correspondent, Julius West, whispered to Williams: "If he were spruced up a bit you would take him for a bourgeois mayor or banker of a small French city." So much for first impressions.

Later experience showed that Lenin valued sincerity as ordinary politicians value histrionics: "Lenin is lacking in the

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usual outfit of the statesman-politician—bluff, glittering verbiage, and success-psychology. One felt that he could not fool others even if he desired to. And for the same reasons that he could not fool himself: His scientific attitude of mind, his passion for the facts." He was as relentless toward the phraseologists of the Left as he was toward those of the Right. Williams reports that when the Germans were making their drive on the Russian capital a flood of telegrams poured in from all over Russia expressing horror and indignation and ending with declamatory slogans like "Death to the imperialistic robbers!" Lenin read the telegrams and dispatched a message to all the soviets "asking them kindly not to send revolutionary phrases to Petrograd, but to send troops; also to state precisely the number of volunteers enrolled, and to forward an exact report upon the arms, ammunition, and food conditions." The sentimentalist and shouter of shibboleths he treated with caustic ridicule. Lenin was at once surgeon and strategist.

He could be speedy in action, but he knew where to go slow. When a delegation of workers came to him asking if he could decree the nationalization of their factory, Lenin picked up a blank form and said: "Yes, it is a very simple thing, my part of it. All I have to do is to take these blanks and fill in the name of your factory in this space here, and then sign my name in this space here, and the name of the commissar here." The workers were highly pleased. "But before I sign this blank," resumed Lenin, "I must ask you a few questions. First, do you know where to get the raw materials for your factory?" The workers' delegation admitted that they didn't. "Do you understand the keeping of accounts," asked Lenin, "and have you worked out a method for keeping up production?" Again a reluctant negative. "And finally, comrades, may I ask you whether you have found a market in which to sell your products?" Again: No. "Well, comrades," concluded the Premier, "don't you think you are not ready to take over your factory now? Go back home and work over these matters. You will find it hard; you will make many blunders, but you will learn. Then come back in a few months and we can take up the nationalizing of your factory."

THE discipline, intellectual, moral, and physical, that Lenin demanded of others he scrupulously observed himself. He shared the black bread, tea, and porridge that comprised the diet of the Smolny crowds. Eighteen and twenty hours was his daily stint in those days. Like the soldiers and messengers, Lenin and his wife slept on iron cots in a bare room. And these privations not out of ascetic impulses, but out of absolute identification with the needs and aspirations of his people with whom he was working for a richer life. Hungering with the people, freezing with the people, as did Washington at Valley Forge, Lenin knew their feelings and shared their thoughts; he did not have to guess, says Williams, about the feelings of the Ural miner, the Volga peasant or the Soviet soldier.

Despite the rigors of his day and night ordeal, he spoke constantly from the platform. The masses listened to the flashing sentences and rotund periods of Kerensky, and then they turned, these so-called illiterate Russians, and gave their allegiance to Lenin, "the scholar, the man of logic, of measured thought and academic utterance," the master of dialectics and polemics. He was quick on the draw. When Karl Radek once turned on him saying, "If there were five hundred brave men in Petrograd we would send you to jail," Lenin quietly replied, "Some comrades indeed may go to jail, but if you will calculate the probabilities you will see that it is more likely that I will send you than you me." The thrust has turned out to be more than verbal.

Mild-mannered, courteous, sympathetic in bearing, he nevertheless would not squander his precious time on people with nonessential business. In his ante-room hung this notice: "Visitors are asked to take into consideration that they are to speak to a man whose business is enormous. He asks them to explain clearly and briefly what they have come to say." At the same time, he was a man of extraordinary self-composure: "Events that stirred others to a frenzy were an invitation to quiet and serenity in him." Nervous force was too valuable a commodity to waste.

ON LENIN'S attitude toward America, this little volume of 1919 has some extremely interesting things to say. "American technicians, engineers, and administrators," notes Williams, "Lenin particularly held in high esteem. He wanted five thousand of them, he wanted them at once, and was ready to pay them the highest salaries. He was constantly assailed for having a peculiar leaning toward America. Indeed, his enemies cynically referred to him as 'the agent of the Wall Street bankers,' and in the heat of debate the extreme Left hurled this charge in his face." Lenin asked: "Why is it not then to the mutual interest of the two countries to make a special agreement?"

Lenin was asked if it were possible for a socialist state to deal with a capitalist state. Can the two forms live side by side? "Why not?" said Lenin. "We want technicians, scientists, and the various products of industry, and it is clear that we by ourselves are incapable of developing the immense resources of this country. Under the circumstances, though it may be unpleasant for us, we must admit that our principles, which hold in Russia, must, beyond our frontiers, give place to political agreements. We very sincerely propose to pay interest on our foreign loans, and in default of cash we will pay them in grain, oil, and all sorts of raw materials in which we are rich. We have decided to grant concessions of forests and mines to citizens of the Entente powers, always on the condition that the essential principles of the Russian Soviets are to be respected." When it was argued that foreign capitalists would do no business with the Soviets without the protection of an armed force from their own country, Lenin replied: "It will be quite superfluous, because the Soviet government will observe faithfully what they have bound themselves to observe." In the Great Moscow Economic Council in June 1919, Lenin battled for the policy of economic alliance with America against the engineer Krassin, who led the fight for economic alliance with Germany.

At around this time, Colonel Robins was telling a meeting of American businessmen: "Do you say that Lenin is nothing but Red Guards? Gentlemen, let me tell you something. I have seen a little piece of paper with some words on it by Nikolai Lenin read and re-read, and then instantly and scrupulously obeyed in Russian cities thousands of miles beyond the last Red Guard in Lenin's army." That was Lenin's real strength, his closeness to the masses whom he led. Unlike Trotsky and his other enemies, Lenin regarded the Russian masses as the soul and sinew of the Revolution, the only hope of a new society. "This was not the popular view," writes Williams in 1919. "The conception of the Russian masses generally current makes them but shambling creatures of the soil, shiftless, lazy, illiterate, with dark minds set only upon vodka, devoid of idealism, incapable of sustained effort. Over against this stands Lenin's estimate of the 'ignorant' masses. Through the long years, in season and out of season, he insisted upon their resoluteness, their capacity for sacrificing and suffering, their ability to grasp large political ideas, and the great creative and constructive forces latent within them."

Twenty-five years later, it is scarcely necessary to underscore how profoundly right was Lenin's estimate of the Russian people and how splendidly justified was their devotion to him. The great spirit of Lenin has found its splendid fulfillment in the leadership of Stalin; and the Red Army men of today, the workers, collective farmers, and intellectuals who are unitedly hurling back the fascists are the descendants of those men and women who rallied around Lenin in former crises. It is not only the Russians but all free peoples who owe an eternal debt of gratitude to Lenin, whom Albert Rhys Williams rightly evaluated in 1919 as "a man with a giant mind and an iron will, a man of vast learning and fearless action, a man of the loftiest idealism and the most stern, practical sagacity."

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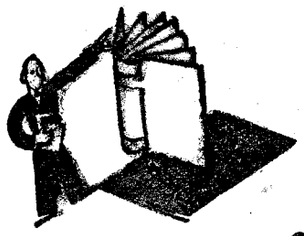

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Out of the Dark Age

A HUNDRED YEARS OF MEDICINE, *by Drs. C. Haagensen and W. Lloyd. Sheridan House. $3.75.*

DR. W. LLOYD, English specialist in public health, and Dr. C. Haagensen, American surgeon and pathologist, have written an excellent historical essay on medicine in the last century. This is in no sense a mere catalogue of medical achievements, but rather a study of the developments in medicine—technical and social—related against the economic background of the century.

The authors have dug deeply into authentic documents for the history of English and American cities in the year 1842—and have emerged with grim bitter truths. From the Poor Law Commissioner's Report, *The Sanitary Conditions of the Laboring Population of Great Britain,* we learn that people lived in houses constructed of the cheapest and flimsiest materials. In Edinburgh and Glasgow large families occupied overcrowded rooms originally intended for cellars, without light, air, or drainage. Open drains ran in the streets and were flushed only by rain. The filth from the jail was washed down the public highway at intervals. Blood flowed from the slaughter houses into the streets. Often the ground floors of the houses were used as dung heaps and pigsties.

New York City—1842—fared no better. The authors summarize the findings of the City Inspector of Health and Charles Dickens' *American Notes.* Dickens had visited New York in that year and wrote "There is one quarter which in respect to filth and wretchedness may be safely backed against Seven Dials (the most wretched spot in England)." The inspector reported that the inhabitants of the cellars (especially the thousands of newly arrived immigrants) were crowded together in foul holes into which sewage continually seeped.

Such were the prevalent conditions during the rise of the Industrial Revolution. Obstetrics and gynecology were left to midwives, who depended for their knowledge of anatomy and physiology on folklore and little previous experience. Syphilis and gonorrhea were diseases that made people social outcasts. Great epidemics of scarlet fever, typhoid, cholera, diphtheria, and yellow fever ravaged the turbulent and newly industrialized cities. Appendectomy, gall bladder removal, and even elementary surgery were practically unknown to the majority of practitioners. And in the last seven years of the nineteenth century, the old scourge, bubonic plague, threatened the entire world.

The attack on such conditions came from two directions. The early stirrings of working class organizations had begun with the demand for better wages, more education, and healthier cities. Simultaneously doctors and scientists made their assault on mysticism. The discovery of the animal cell and the development of the cellular theory brought about a fundamental change in outlook. An important figure at this time was the anti-Bismarckian and left-wing Professor Virchow, who in a brilliant piece of work proved that no cell arises except by direct formation from another cell. In brief but vivid accounts Haagensen and Lloyd present Pasteur's attack on germs inside the body; Lister's antiseptics and the struggle against dirt and disease at the operating tables; the new surgery techniques created by Halsted and his remarkable pupil, Cushing; Banting's great insulin contribution against diabetes; and Domagk's triumph with the sulfa drugs. There are also accounts of Morton's anesthetic experiments; a complete and up-to-date chapter on the vitamins; the latest neural and thoracic surgery work; and the use of radium.

But the authors are not merely content to call attention to this century of medical progress. Their comparative essay concludes with a summary on the social aspects of medicine. Haagensen and Lloyd have read medical statistics and find that the great majority of the American people cannot afford adequate medical care; that the health of every individual is a social concern and responsibility and medical care for every individual is an essential condition of maximum efficiency and happiness in a civilized world. They quote from Newsholme and Kingsbury that "the Russian organization of medical care is more complete and freer from inhibition than any other country" and finally they disprove the arguments against group medicine. They recommend it "because most people know there is hope that they will succeed in making adequate medical care available to everyone."

JAMES KNIGHT.

Anti-Fascist Japan

THE NEW SUN, *by Taro Yashima. Henry Holt. $2.75.*

IN JAPAN a young painter named Taro Yashima fought fascism with his pictures and now in the United States he continues the fight. *The New Sun* is his graphic autobiography with textual explanations. In simple line drawings it portrays Mr. Yashima's life: his childhood in the province of Tosa, his education in high school and the Japanese Imperial Art Academy, his revulsion from the vacuities of modern Japanese art and from fascist oppression, his work with the progressive movement in art and politics, his marriage, and the birth and death of his son, his arrest by the Tokkoka, the Japanese secret police, and his life and torture in prison. When finally released, he walks home beneath the new sun which "would increase its brightness over me and over all people everywhere."

The drawings are rough sketches and

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caricatures which suggest rather than delineate. Unpretentiously, with an attitude, a gesture, they depict the horror of fascism and the loathsomeness of its followers. Contrasted with sketches like these are others eloquent with pathos and the dignity of simple people. Unfortunately, however, text and pictures are too elementary. Although they reveal the general pattern of fascism, they omit the national attributes that would characterize the Japanese people and the brand of fascism with which they have to contend. As a result, the book is a primer of slight impact whose every page makes the reader regret that Mr. Yashima has not drawn and narrated his story in greater detail.

Nevertheless, *The New Sun* is a welcome addition to anti-fascist literature. It reinforces the truth that fascism everywhere and in every guise is black, brutal reaction, and it shows that even Tojo and Hirohito are opposed by men and women who are struggling with all their might for a people's Japan and a people's world.

CLIFFORD HALLAM.

Water-Soaked Woollcott

TO ALL HANDS: An Amphibious Adventure, *by John Mason Brown. Whittlesey House. $2.75.*

HERE is war reportage written not for the reading public back home but originally composed as an integral functioning part of an invasion task-force flagship. *To All Hands* consists of a collection of broadcasts made by bridge announcer Brown over the loud-speaker system of a ship that took part in the invasion of Sicily. The broadcasts began shortly after embarkation from "That Town" in America. At first they were a sort of daily report on weather, position, ship, and world news, and the task ahead. During the battle-filled days of the successful amphibious invasion of Scoglitti the broadcasts were given almost hourly, returning to the daily basis for the return voyage. "Only one man out of ten on a modern ship in combat can see what is going on," said Rear Admiral Kirk in assigning Lieut. John Mason Brown to be bridge announcer. "I want you to do their seeing for them." He did. And his publishers have supplemented his script with an excellent collection of over eighty photographs and drawings made during the same voyage.

Before the war John Mason Brown was a theater critic, author of *The Modern Theater in Revolt*, *Upstage*, etc. Reading *To All Hands* with its illustrations is more like watching a pantomime with a sound track than reading a book. Brown's talks are somewhat like daily newspaper columns. If there is not much doing, he reads some Shakespeare or quotes *Moby Dick*. At other times he rises fully to the occasion of battle and swift action. Even in eventless days there is the tension of com-

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ing struggle. It was the fortune of the good ship *Spelvin*, however, to suffer no tragic disasters; the action, as Brown notes, can therefore be correctly subtitled "An Adventure."

In defense of his quoting from Arnold and Shakespeare, Brown says: "In my role of a water-soaked Woollcott, a sea-swept Pepys, a wet Swing, a moist Baedeker, a damp Greek messenger, and a damper Polonius, it was my hope to amuse and my duty to try to interest all these men. You cannot condescend to people you respect as much as I respect them." It is regrettable that while Lieutenant Brown found time to play Polonius and time to remind his fellow seafarers of the production front back home, he did not see fit to mention the crucial part the unions are playing on that front. He spoke of the hardworking businessmen, but did not directly mention war workers. He makes another vital omission when he cautions the American fighters not to feel too sorry for forlorn-looking Nazi prisoners, but fails to seize that or any other opportunity to explain the nature of fascism.

From introductory remarks it appears the sailors on flagship *Spelvin* simply got a lucky break in having a bridge announcer who reported anything more than the day's log. But as Admiral Kirk said to Lieutenant Brown: "After all, this is a democratic war, and I believe that men who are willing to give their lives for democracy have the right to be included in what's going on."

TOBIAS SWIFT.

Brief Reviews

THE GERMANS CAME TO PARIS, *by Peter de Polnay. Duell, Sloan & Pearce. $2.75.*

ENEMY and collaborationist work aside, this marks a new and possibly all-time low among accounts of the German occupation of Paris. The author, a Hungarian expatriate, was educated in England, is a writer of English fiction, and his heart is in approximately the right place, but his tongue flaps as foolishly in print as it flapped in France. His book is an almost incredible mixture of ignorance, arrogance, conceit, and sentimentalized heroics. Even the quality of vivid description which one might expect of a professional writer is almost entirely missing. Behind the title, meant to catch the curious and unwary, there is nothing.

THE WHITE BRIGADE, *by Robert Goffin. Doubleday, Doran. $2.00.*

ROBERT GOFFIN, Belgian lawyer and author, produces with an extraordinary facility three or four novels a year —adventure stories, mystery yarns, underground romances, such. This book, the latest of his works, is a novelized account

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of the Belgian subterranean resistance to Nazi occupation. The author asserts in his introduction that he used for his narrative only authentic documents, and there is no reason to doubt his statement. What can be doubted is the necessity of putting authentic documentary material into fictionalized form—if the narrative talent is so far from excellent and original as Mr. Goffin's. But his good intention is an extenuating circumstance.

Mosley Hush-Hush

(*Continued from page* 17)

relinquish the power that 18B gives him to oblige or disoblige the best people.

Plainly these things loom larger in his outlook than the vast realities of the human tragedy, and so he failed to realize the mischief, the deadly mischief, that was being done him and the country when he allowed himself to be persuaded to shock and amaze our struggling masses and our allies by this blazing folly of Mosley's release.

Everyone of us is living rough now, and the whole world is a world of intensifying hardship. Except in these upper circles to which he has clambered. There the cries of distress, of misery, are "noises heard without."

Blind to the enormous repercussion it was bound to have, he did the stupid, snobbish thing. And now at any cost to Mr. Morrison it ought to be undone, and undone and repudiated at once. For a major defeat in battle could not give so heavy a blow as this to the morale of ourselves and our allies.

THINK of the effect upon our workers, who are putting up cheerfully with every sort of petty hardship, upon the women who can't get beds in which to bear their children, upon the maimed and sick who are "sticking it" bravely, when they realize that a prison hospital is not good enough for dear Sir Oswald Mosley. He must have special treatment and the best advice according to the usage of us gentlefolk throughout the ages.

Surely an angel would be disposed to slacken up a bit, and an underpaid transport worker feel the strike impulse growing strong in him, when he feels that he is giving himself for Mosley's England. Some such chill will surely pass through the land if Mr. Morrison's lapse into sympathetic gentility does not receive immediate correction.

And think how this folly will look in Moscow, in heroic underground Europe, in Washington.

Or better, don't think, but set about kicking up a fuss about it until Morrison goes. Because plainly now Morrison ought to go. Nothing would so grace his career as frank repentance and resignation.

H. G. WELLS.

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AS I KNEW HIM

Vladimir Lenin was the great friend of all Soviet artists, writes Sergei Merkurov, noted Russian sculptor. "Thoughts of Lenin make me look into the future."

Moscow.

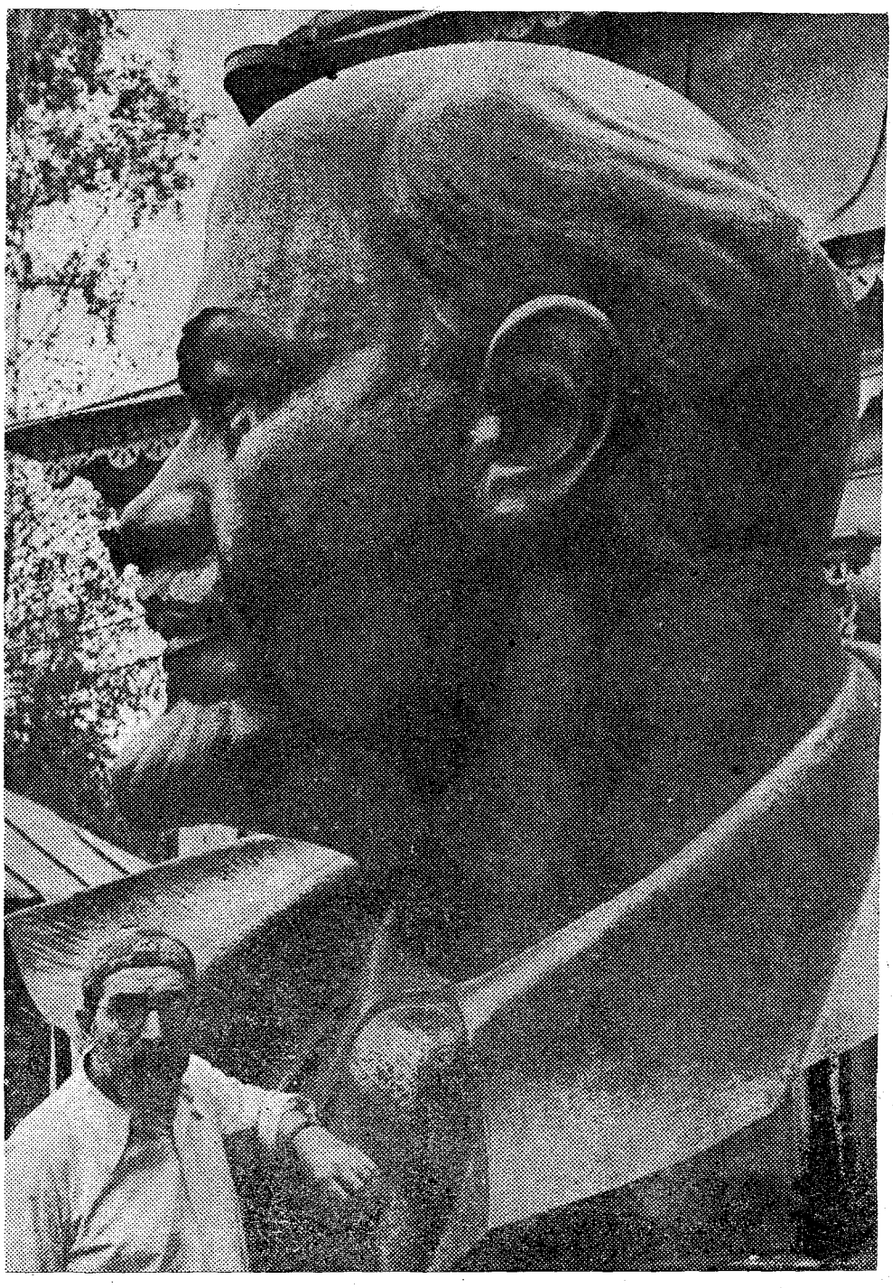
I WRITE these lines on a wintry January evening in 1944 in my home—a cottage in the woods near Moscow which was given me by Lenin's special order just after the revolution. Outside my windows I can see the tops of old pines swaying to and fro. There is no one here to disturb my peace. My assistants, young Soviet sculptors, having completed their daily task, have gone home, and through the open door I can see my large studio pervaded by tense silence. And I am thinking of a man so everlastingly dear to my heart—Vladimir Lenin, great friend of all Soviet artists.

In my long creative life as a Russian artist so much is connected with Lenin that I can think of him only as a living man. I recall times when I met and spoke to Lenin in Zurich, Switzerland, and then in Moscow. On the Red Square, amidst a turbulent sea of people, I recollect his simple, sincere, vivid speech. I can still see him standing there with one arm stretched forward and his slightly screwed-up eyes piercing into the dazzling and brilliant future of newly born Russia.

I remember him in his study in the Kremlin where soon after the Revolution he spoke to us sculptors and artists of the new tasks facing Russian art which henceforth was to serve wide masses of people who with all their soul yearned for cultural advance. Lenin spoke of the part that art was to play in the life of the Russian people—of the graphic arts, painting, and sculpture, the cinema, and the great educational value of art in the life of the new state. This talk and the subsequent decree signed by Lenin according to which monuments to outstanding public men were to be erected, laid the cornerstone for a new movement in art which after many years of strife between various trends (including even cubism) has emerged on the road of triumphant socialist realism.

ALTHOUGH overburdened with affairs of state, Lenin still found time constantly to take an active part in the life and activities of Russian artists. On one occasion he had summoned me and asked questions which showed his personal and detailed interest in the artist's life. He asked our advice as to how to give assistance to artists in order to facilitate their work and then issued adequate instructions to Lunacharsky, the People's Commissar for Education.

And when Lenin departed from our midst we were smitten with grief too poignant to express in words. It was unbearable to think that we would never again set eyes on our dear friend. And from then on we lent ourselves to the task of recreating Lenin's image and immortalizing his



Head of a twenty-seven-foot statue of Lenin and its sculptor, Sergei Merkurov.

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noble features. Demand for busts, statues, and memorials of Lenin, has been and still is truly tremendous in the Soviet Union. Two million works of sculpture—a number unparalleled in the history of art, portray Lenin and have been distributed among the people. Artistic work on the image of Lenin still continues and will continue in the future.

IT HAS been my good fortune to create two huge statues of Lenin and Stalin who so brilliantly continues Lenin's work. Two statues have been erected at the entrance to the canal joining the waters of the Volga and Moskva rivers near the town of Kilinin, formerly called Tver. The two figures of Lenin and Stalin, thirty-two meters high, were created in three and a half months with 5,000 workmen and 670 highly qualified granite hewers taking part in the construction. Stones weighing thousands of pounds went to make up the monument while the heads were chiselled from hundred-ton monoliths. The Ukrainian granite incorporated in each monument filled twenty-four trains. My workshop, where masses of granite were hewn, stretched for one kilometer. Locomotives and barges were used to transport the granite from the studio to the plot of ground assigned for the monuments. Today, these two figures stand proudly. The Nazi barbarians didn't reach this place. Their advance was stemmed by Soviet troops who afterwards pushed the enemy far to the west.

Apart from these statues, I have executed a number of sculptures of Lenin, among them a statue of polished granite, for the World's Fair in New York. At the present time, I am continuing my work on a statue of Lenin which will crown the Palace of the Soviets in Moscow. This responsible and highly gratifying task was entrusted to me several years ago. The Palace of the Soviets will be one of the greatest edifices of our time. The building will be lavishly adorned with sculptures of all kinds.

The figure of Lenin to which I am at present devoting a good deal of my time, will be one hundred meters high, its head alone will approximately equal the size of a five-story building. These tremendous dimensions presuppose definite treatment of sculptured forms, which in this case border upon architectural design. In regard to choice of materials for the colossal statue, I am greatly assisted by our country's scientific research institutes where metals and other materials are tested.

TWENTY years ago, it was on a frosty January night like this that I saw Vla limir Lenin for the last time. I arrived in Gorky in the middle of the night and was confronted with the grievous task of making a death mask from his infinitely dear features. I remember that night to the last detail. My hands trembled and tears dimmed my vision. "You wanted to make a bust of him and he never had time to sit for it—now it's his death mask," were words that came from the lips of Lenin's widow, Krupskaya.

Thus twenty years ago we lost one of the greatest men that ever lived. We will never recover from the shock of this great bereavement. Yet thoughts of Lenin make me look into the future and I can see the time when the Nazi murderers and all their ghastly crimes will sink into oblivion never to return again. Then in the sunshine of the Soviet Capital, the Palace of the Soviets will rise and above it the image of Vladimir Lenin—eternal and immortal, even as his name is among the people to whom he had shown the road to happiness.

SERGEI MERKUROV.

The New Hitchcock

Storm, sound effects, and lame dialog in a lifeboat. . . . Washington hooey.

"LIFEBOAT," the Twentieth Century-Fox - Hitchcock - John Steinbeck-scenarist Jo Swerling collaboration, is as good as it is possible for a bad film to be. Its physical properties have been entrusted to a knowing hand. Hitchcock is still Hitchcock. Give him a loop of sound track, a miniature or two, and a rear projection screen, and he'll chill more spines and drain the blood out of your brain faster than any dozen of the king's men.

Unfortunately Mr. Steinbeck's understanding of the world as of January 1944 does not stack up against Mr. Hitchcock's mastery of his craft. And to the extent that Mr. Swerling and Hitchcock himself (he's always been known to put in his say-so) participated in the formulation of the film's content, they have been similarly at fault.

The one point on which *Lifeboat* speaks with any clarity at all is the ruthlessness (abstract ruthlessness, at that, and dissociated entirely from its fascist motive) of the Nazi enemy. The Nazis must be punished and reeducated if possible, the film concludes. But that apart, all else is spiritual stagnation that resembles nothing more than a teary confessional of incompetence at the Stork Club. "The Germans are lice, but they have a plan. They think things out, damn them," runs the burden. But after Stalingrad and the Teheran conference the defeatist chatter of Paris sidewalk cafes of 1938 sounds strange indeed.

These words are spoken by as brummagem a crew of survivors as were conjured out of an ink-bottle. After a brilliant curtain raiser depicting the sinking of a merchant transport Hitchcock rings in his first character—Conny Porter played by Miss Tallulah Bankhead. You see her, the sole occupant of a life boat, photographing the wreckage with an eight mm. kodak. What she uses for light is not made very clear—it happens to be deep midnight—but why mention such a trifle? One by one some eight persons make their way to her refuge, including the captain of the marauder sub which the merchantman had blown up just before going down itself. Then ensues a contest of wills between the Nazi captain and those of our camp. And it must be said we're pushovers, though ever so much nicer people. But the last-minute intervention of the British Royal Navy—fortunately they *did* have a "plan"—rules the contest null and void.

That *Lifeboat* will succeed at the box-office goes without saying. Equally inarguable, however, is the certainty that deprived of Hitchcock's ministration the film would stand exposed for the dud it is. Time after time, Hitch, as the flora and fauna of *Lyon's Den* refer to him, smashes splendidly contrived studio storms over the heads of his characters and washes their jabber overboard. Mr. Hitchcock's predilection for the crash of the sea (you will find examples in the opening of *The Girl Was Young*, in *Foreign Correspondent*, and in *Rebecca*, of course) pays off in *Lifeboat* as perhaps nowhere else in his repertoire. Another scene of outstanding impact is the suicide of the Bristol evacuee (Heather Angel). To wish that Hitchcock had been given more satisfactory substance to work on is in order, but the film is in the can and there you are.

THE worthwhile part of the current program at the Palace Theater begins where RKO's *Government Girl* ends. First item we report is an all-time newsreel clip of the downing of a Zero by carrier ack-ack. Heretofore it has been possible to say that studio rendition of warfare somehow looked realer than the real thing and more exciting, more perilous. This newsreel clip will demolish the myth for you if the coverage of the Tarawa battle already hasn't. Following the news, a good installment of the Pathe series *This is America* was served up—*Letter to a Hero*.

Of the feature, *Government Girl*, the less the better. The film is a disservice to everyone concerned, actors included. I've never seen Olivia de Havilland, for instance, in so absurd a performance. Certain quarters, after admitting the film's dearth of good taste and labored whackery, incline to considernig that the picture somehow makes a contribution to the war effort. My friends, I don't see it. As the Greeks said, from nothing, nothing. If I had my captious cap on I'd point out that the ribbing of government agencies the film indulges in and the fantastic hair-brained government employes it presents are quite the other way around.

DANIEL PRENTISS.

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Bad Farce, Good Jazz

ANOTHER "vehicle" has just rolled off the theatrical production line, but it's minus a motor. I refer to *Ramshackle Inn* —according to latest accounts it is still stuck fast in the middle of the stage at the Royale Theater. Zazu Pitts, making her first appearance on Broadway, is, by her technique of dawdling melancholy, supposed to overcome the deficiencies of the script. But no actress living could overcome this author's ananities.

Ramshackle Inn is listed as a "melodramatic farce," but I found it difficult to distinguish the melodrama from Miss Pitts' antics. More corpses litter the stage than you will find in all the other current mystery plays put together, but the action is anything but lively. The mechanics of the plot lack motivation—most of them are invented, I imagine, to provide business for Miss Pitts. The latter makes the most of her lines, and gets herself in and out of predicaments with a maximum of comic effects, handily assisted by the storm effects machine, her hat, her bag, and the man who loads the blank pistols.

★

EDDIE CONDON and his collection of jazz players from Nick's and other cafes recently presented the second of their Saturday jazz concerts at Town Hall. Welcome as a good example of solid craftsmanship at any time, these recitals are doubly welcome during the war when jazz has almost disappeared publicly.

The musicians' names read like a cross-section of *Who's Who* in the world of jazz. There were, for instance, Eddie Condon, guitar; Art Hodes and Joe Bushkin (on a furlough) at the piano; Max Kaminsky, Sterling Boze, Billy Butterfield on cornet; Miff Mole and Lou McGarrit, trombone; Peewee Russell, Buster Bailey, clarinet; Sidney Catlett, Cozy Cole, Kansas Fields (Navy) on the drums. In general, when ensembles of such artists are collected under one roof, the results are apt to be first-rate. This time, although the large combinations were good, the best music was achieved in small group and solo numbers. This is probably due to the fact that most of these men play together at Nick's, and have evolved a set routine. Eddie Condon's guitar, Peewee Russell and his "low-down" clarinet, the vigorous and powerful trombone of Lou McGarrity and others of that combination, while uniformly good, offered few surprises. The duets, trios, and solos, on the other hand, were full of delightful inventions in the best jazz tradition.

The high spot of the program was Buster Bailey's relaxed, warm, full-toned clarinet in "You Know What I Know," Sidney Catlett, Joe Bushkin, and Casey on bass, working in trio, and the solo bits of drummers Cozy Cole and Kansas Field.

One characteristic of these jazz concerts, whether at Carnegie or Town Hall, or in some smoke-filled cellar on Fifty-second Street, is the camaraderie of Negro and white listeners and players. If occasionally a Jim Crow addict wanders into a bistro he is given the cold shoulder. The kinship of the musicians is based on craftsmanship and problems in common. It is a practice that could be well applied to other fields.

JOSEPH FOSTER.

PROGRESSIVE'S ALMANAC

January

20—ACA Gallery. Exhibit of original drawings of Taro Yashima, Japanese anti-fascist artict. 63 East 57th St., New York. All week.

21—George Washington Carver School. Walter Pach, painter-critic. "Opportunities for Enjoying Art in New York." Slide illustrations. 57 W. 125th St., New York. 8 P.M.

22—Victory Press Committee. "Cafe Saturday Night." Irwin Corey, Laura Duncan, Al Moss, Burl Ives, Frankie Newton and Band. Webster Hall, New York. From 9 P.M.

23—City Center Forum. Poland. Speaker, Dr. Olgierd Langer, Harvard. Discussion leader, Dr. Clarence King, Columbia University. City Center, 130 W. 56th St., New York. 8:30 P.M.

23—International Workers Order. Friday Forum. Captain Kournakoff. "War Strategy for Victory." Seagate Community Center, Nautilus and Seagate Aves., Brooklyn, New York. 8 P.M.

23—Genius Inc. Sunday night jam sessions. Art Hodes and his guest jazzmen plus visiting stars. 39th St. Theater (formerly Labor Stage), New York. 8:30 P.M.

27—NEW MASSES. Tribute to Memory of Art Young. Earl Browder, Rockwell Kent, Howard Fast, Donald Ogden Stewart, Langston Hughes, Mike Gold, Crockett Johnson, scores of prominent artists and writers. Program of dance and music. Manhattan Center, New York. 8:30 P.M.

February

4—Press Protographers Ball. Kenny Baker. Benefit American Theatre Wing. Waldorf-Astoria, New York.

5—Lincoln Steffens Branch 500, I.W.O. Entertainment and dance, benefit Camp Wo-Chi-Ca. Hazel Scott, Jimmy Savo, Pearl Primus, and others; Rockwell Kent, M.C. Webster Hall, New York.

12—United Federal Workers, Local 21. Freedom Party. Entertainment. Penthouse, 13 Astor Place, New York. 8:30 P.M.

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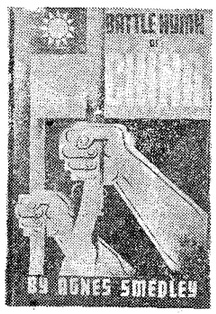

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